

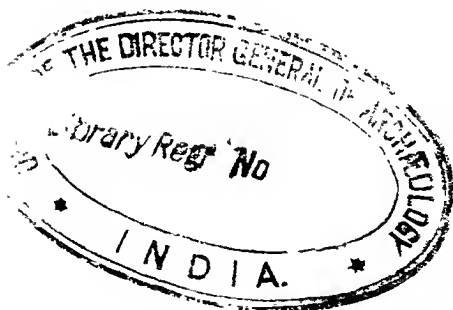
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TABLE,
ANALYTICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL,
TO THE SEVENTH VOLUME OF
LIVES OF
EMINENT BRITISH STATESMEN.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

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LIVES

OF

EMINENT BRITISH STATESMEN.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

1652—1658.

AFTER the defeat of Worcester, it is remarked by Lord Clarendon, all the royal and loyal party lay groveling and prostrate, under desolate apprehensions.* A glance at the position of the republican leaders will show that never were such apprehensions so justly grounded, or so little overcharged.

Resistance to the great design of a republic was now at an end, in England, Ireland, and Scotland. In England, the avowed hostility of the levellers had become as harmless as the secret machinations of the loyalists. In Ireland, submission and solitude had been substituted, by an awful and unsparing hand, for turbulence and rebellion. In Scotland, the sturdiest presbyterian had at last surrendered to the victorious soldiers of independency even the sectarian loveliness and supremacy of his darling kirk. Scarcely a spot of British ground remained, on which, in right of a triumphant conquest, the banner of the English commonwealth did not stand firmly planted.

Nor had its champions won less consideration for it

* History, vol. vi. p. 557.

in distant lands. Through every country in Europe they had proclaimed their purpose ; and vanquished enemies on all sides bore testimony to their power. The proud Don John of Portugal lay like the humblest vassal at the feet of Blake ; the haughty insolence of Spain had crawled into subservient alliance ; the Dutch had surrendered their cherished title of sovereigns of the sea ; and, held down by the vigour and genius of our republican statesmen, the remaining potentates of Europe "stood still with awful eye."

But at the very root of such vast strength there lurked a mortal weakness. The government under which these results had been achieved, and by which alone the frame of things was now kept together, was avowedly a provisional government. It rested on no direct authority from the people. The men who were at the head of affairs had, by sublime talents and unconquerable energy, placed *themselves* there ; but in continuing to hold to office by no other bond, they seemed to confess that the people were against them. Daring and resolute in all things else, they fell short of their own high souls in this. It was because in other things they held their personal safety to be risked alone ; while in this they saw some peril to that grand design by which, as they fondly hoped, they were destined to secure the happiness of unborn generations of their countrymen. We alone, they reasoned, to whom this glorious republic owes its birth, are fit to watch over its tender years. Our duty cannot be done, till we have taught England the practical blessings of the new system we have wrought. Under a republic she shall find herself greater than under any of her kings. Wealthy and secure, respected and honoured, she will recognise the value and the potency of the government we have formed ; and, by her gratitude well repaid, we may then with safety deliver back into the hands of the people the authority we have wielded throughout for their benefit alone.

The reasoning, up to a certain point, must possibly be

conceded as just, and worthy of the men.* There cannot be a doubt, that at the day when the axe descended on the neck of Charles I., a majority of the people were still strongly attached to the forms of monarchical government. But on the other side were a most formidable minority, comprising within itself the greatest amount of energy, genius, and moral force, that had yet been exhibited upon the stage of public affairs in England. To elevate the whole nation to that standard, was a design at once grand and simple, worthy of the age, and of the deeds already done in it. For, be it kept in mind, republicanism was of recent growth even in the breasts of these founders of the new republic. The most influential of them had not played the lofty part they did from any preconceived notion of the abstract excellence of that form of civil society. It has been abundantly shown in this work, that what such men as VANE sought, was popular and good government; embracing extensive representation, security for person and property, freedom of thought, freedom of the press, and entire liberty of conscience. It was only because they could not find these under a monarchy, that they became republicans; but under a monarchy they would have been content with these. From the head of no Jupiter sprang the armed republic of England; but even from the weak and faithless head of her own Charles Stuart. Practical and most protracted experience of the utter impossibility of bringing that monarch to terms of good faith, destroyed, in the breasts of a formidable minority of the nation, all further faith in monarchy itself. It only remained, by means as powerful, to wean the rest from that old allegiance and long-descended love, by exhibiting to them in enlarged prosperity, safety, and honour, the superior forces that were inherent in the republican form. Hence it came to be urged, as no less a matter of necessity than duty,

* I have already treated this subject in the "Life of Vane," with less consideration, probably, for the part that that statesman took in it, than I have felt it only due to the general body of republicans to concede in this place.

to hold fast by the act which Englishmen who have read the history of their country aright know to be the corner stone of all the freedom that now exists in it, and which declared the parliament that assembled in 1640 indissoluble, save by its own consent. By such a course only, in the midst of the clouds that hung over the minds of men after the memorable action of the 30th of January, was it felt that even the common frame of society could be held together. Only so, could the chance, however distant, of another trial of the family of Stuart, be averted from the land which they had cursed so heavily. By this alone could that calm be cast upon the troubled waters out of which order and happiness must ever rise. But it was a course which in any case carried along with it one most peremptory condition. Justified by necessity alone — the limits of necessity sternly bound it in. The day that saw it no longer essential to safety, saw it the most fatal instrument of danger.

That day had, now at least, arrived. The first act of the statesmen of Westminster, after the Worcester victory, should have been the passing of their bill for an amended representation, and the dissolution of the parliament in which they sat. In the restless anxiety of the thoughtful Vane, which followed close upon that event, might be detected the fear that there had already been a delay too long. No merely administrative glory, however great and brilliant, can be expected to produce a lasting beneficial impression on the minds or the condition of a people. The government of the new form had now brought to a successful issue its struggle for existence: scattered or prostrate enemies on all sides bore witness to the solid foundations it had laid. The next, the greatest, and most serviceable stone of the superstructure, should have been a fearless appeal to the people. More was to be gained, as events will show hereafter, by trusting than by distrusting *them*. They had now, moreover, the indisputable right to demand—what such a course was only the first step to — new political insti-

tutions, such as Vane's later experience inculcated, to be founded on the principles of the old, and in which should be kept, as far as it was possible, the spirit of those fundamental laws and usages to which they had been for centuries accustomed, and under which, in their purer shapes, they had grown in civilisation and in virtue. Assuming, on the other hand, the injustice of such demands, and the inexpediency of granting them, what was the single security left to the new commonwealth, even in the midst of all its triumphs? Nothing but the sword that had struck for them. Nothing but the force which, obedient to an impulse from without, might as readily answer to a bidding from within. Here lurked the danger that was mightiest, because least seen. The serpent that had the deadliest sting for the new commonwealth lay coiled and cherished within its own bosom. Every man in that army which now rested, after its loftiest and last triumph, within a few days' march of London, should have been made, in his very first hour of consciousness of victory, to feel that his sword had at length become useless, for that higher duties awaited its gallant owner. The great invitation of citizenship should have pierced like a trumpet into every tent — *You have won the privileges of freemen. Come now, and actively participate in them!*

The course of events to which our narrative turns, will present, towards the just appreciation of the various great questions involved in this momentous subject, a series of sad, though salutary, illustrations.

Within a few hours after the news from Worcester reached London, soul-stirring despatches from Cromwell were read from the speaker's chair to the assembled commons, and from every chapel in the vast city to its crowded and excited congregation. "We beat the enemy," they said, "from hedge to hedge, till we beat them into Worcester. The dispute was long and very near at hand, and often at push of pike from one defence to another . . . We fought in the streets of the town together for three hours' space; but in the end

we beate the enemy totally . . . We pursued him to his royal fort, which we took, and have beaten indeed his whole army . . . When we took his fort, we turned his owu guns upon him . . . This hath been a very glorious mercy, and as stiffe a contest for four or five houres as ever I have seene. Both your old forces, and those new raised, have behaved themselves with very great courage ; and He that made them come out, made them willing to fight for you . . . We have seven thousand prisoners, many of them officers and noblemen of quality . . . If this provoke those that are concerned in it to thankfulness, and the parliament to do the will of Him who had done his will for it and for the nation — whose good pleasure is to establish the nation and the change of the government, by making the people so willing to the defence thereof, and so signally to blesse the endeavours of your servants in this late great worke — I am bold humbly to beg, that all thoughts may tend to the promoting of His honour who hath wrought so great salvation ; and that the fatnesse of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and wantonnesse, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen nation ; but that the fear of the Lord, even for his mercies, may keep an authority and a people so prospered and blessed, and witnessed unto, humble and faithful ; and that justice and righteousness, mercy and truth, may flow from you as a thankfull return to our gracious God.”*

The earnest and loud amens which these characteristic phrases and adjurings drew forth from crowded congregations of the faithful, were echoed along the less crowded benches of the commons ; and well had it been for the members assembled there, as in all proba-

* From a newspaper of the time. Sev. Proc. in Parliament, Sept. 4th to Sept. 11th. This last despatch was delivered to the house by major Cobbet, a man of much spirit and resolution ; who produced with it a collar of SS., belonging to young Charles, and his garter, both which he had taken in the royal tent. A characteristic postscript at the close of the despatch he bore, evidenced at once Cromwell's regard for the interests of his officers, and the legitimate means by which he achieved influence with *them*. “Your officers,” it ran, “behaved themselves with much honour in this service ; and the person who is the bearer hereof was equal in the performance of his duty to most that served you that day.” An estate of a hundred a year was on this voted to Cobbet.

bility for posterity to come, if upon such fervent thanks, so simply and honestly given to their great general, they had been content to rest their gratitude to *him* (already laden as he was with more worldly testimonies of the richness of their bounty), and on the instant proceeded to offer to the Providence that had again blessed with victory the cause which engaged his arms, the fittest and most "thankful return" which free men could make, by inviting their fellow countrymen to partake of the blessings so triumphantly won, and by fixing on the broad and strong basis of popular consent, sympathy, and regard, their new fabric of republican government. For the servants of that government, it should have been enough in any case to know that they had done their duty, and deserved well of their country. Anything beyond this could indeed serve the purposes of "pride and wantonness" alone. The writer whose duty it is to record the proceedings of the time, can only mention the vote of the house at this memorable crisis with a feeling of reluctance akin to shame.

To the lord general Cromwell an estate in land, of four thousand a year was voted *; and a royal residence, the palace of Hampton Court, was ordered to be prepared for his future abode. Nor these alone. The honour of the chancellorship of the University of Oxford was at the same time conferred upon him; and a deputation of four of the first members of the government—of that government which should have held its least powerful member of higher dignity and account than its most successful soldier-servant—were appointed to meet and congratulate the lord general at Aylesbury, on his way to the capital, with every form of honour and subservience. By the same votes, a series of estates, descending in value from 2,000*l.* to 300*l.* a year,

* Ludlow urges in extenuation of this vote, that the present income, in addition to his old grant of 2,500*l.* a year, was meant to keep Cromwell steady (a difficult matter, requiring or to "leave him without excuse if If this was the motive, it adds to ceding. History and human nature—to say nothing of common justice to the common people—should have dictated a different method.

were voted respectively to Ireton, Lambert, Monk, Whalley, Okey, and Alured. *

The instructions given to the commissioners of congratulation complete this unworthy picture. Whitelocke and Lisle, the lord keepers of the seal; Oliver St. John, chief justice of England; and sir Gilbert Pickering, a counsellor of state; having been named for the service, were thus addressed from the speaker's chair†: "You are, in the name of parliament, to congratulate his lordship's‡ good recovery of health, after his dangerous sickness, and to take notice of his unwearied labours and pains in the late expedition into Scotland, for the service of this commonwealth; of his diligence in prosecution of the enemy, when he fled into England; of the great hardships and hazards he hath exposed himself to, and particularly at the late fight at Worcester; of the prudent and faithful managing and conducting throughout this great and important affair, which the Lord from heaven hath so signally blessed, and crowned with so compleate and glorious an issue. Of all which you are to make known to his lordship that the parliament hath thought fit by you to certify their good acceptance and great satisfaction therein; and for the same you are to return, in the name of the parliament and commonwealth of England, their most hearty thanks; as also to the rest of the officers and soldiers, for their great and gallant services done to the commonwealth. You are likewise to let his lordship know, that since, by the great blessing of God upon his lordship's and the army's endeavours, the enemy is so totally defeated, and the state of affairs, as well in England as in Scotland, such as may very well dispense with his lordship's continuance in the field,—they do desire his lord-

* To Ireton, two thousand a year was voted; Lambert had a thousand a year; Monk and Whalley five hundred; Okey three hundred; and Alured two. In the following year, Harrison received five hundred a year; Lord Grey of Groby, a thousand; Reynolds, five hundred; and Joice, a hundred. — *Journals*.

† The vote bears date the 9th Sept. 1651—2.

‡ Cromwell, as I have before stated, held a patent of peerage, though he never availed himself of it. The present title was one of courtesy.

ship, for the better settlement of his health, to take such rest and repose as he shall find most requisite and conducing thereunto; and for that purpose to make his repair to and residence at or within some few miles of this place, whereby also the parliament may have the assistance of his presence, in the great and important consultations for the further settlement of this commonwealth, which they are now upon."* In further testimony of a thankful acceptance by the government of the great and faithful services performed by the lord-general, the commissioners had to acquaint him that an act had been passed, not only to do honour to this victory of Worcester on one special and early day throughout the three kingdoms†, but also to appoint an annual commemoration of the victory on the 3rd of September, "for all time to come."‡

* Journals; and see Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 48.

† To render this practicable every where on the same day, the 24th of September was named. — *Journals*.

‡ The treatment of the royalists captured in this great battle deserves mention. Among the prisoners were the duke of Hamilton, mortally wounded; earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, Carnwath, Kelly, Derby, Cleveland, Shropshire, Lord Sinclair, Lord Spynie, Kenmure, Grandison, Sir Timothy Featherstonehaugh, general Massey, captain Benbow, and the mayor and sheriff of Worcester. Derby, Featherstonehaugh, and Benbow were tried by court-martial at Chester, and suffered in October. Benbow was shot; the other two died on the scaffold. James, earl of Derby, who perished thus, was one of the gentlest and strongest-hearted of men. It was he who, with cold and bleeding wounds, had led the distracted Charles, after this fatal fight, to the outlet of escape he won; and, when the axe descended, prayers were on his lips for God's blessing to his king, to his wife the famous countess in "Peveril of the Peak", his "dear Mall, and Ned, and Billy," — the children who were left to mourn him. His scaffold had been erected in his own town of Bolton-le-moors. Of his fellow-prisoners, so selected as above, I may add brief mention. Nine days after the victory, the duke of Hamilton died of his wounds. Massey and Middleton escaped from the tower, and reached France. Lauderdale was kept in prison till the Restoration, and Rothes was not liberated till the year 1655. We find the names of the earl of Kelly, viscount Kenmure, and of lords Spynie and Sinclair, among the exceptions in Cromwell's Act of Oblivion for Scotland in 1654. The first-named earl, however, was suffered to go to the Continent. This detail is, on the whole, most favourable to the spirit of clemency and forbearance which generally distinguished the government of the Commonwealth; and however much we may deplore what seems a partial and unjust severity in the first cases referred to, it is only fair to presume (in the absence of any

The triumphant soldier for whom all these honours were designed, was meanwhile in slow progress with his army towards London. The excitement of the battle was still strong upon him. "That Cromwell," said Hugh Peters*, "would make himself king." That such was the great conception with which the mind of Cromwell heaved at last, no reasonable doubt can be entertained. Whether till now such sovereign aspirations had descended on him — whether, before this period, his vast position as the chief director of one of the mightiest movements the world had known, contented him — is perhaps a problem for ever hopeless of entire solution. There is one thing certain; that it contented him no longer. The great prize hung glittering within his reach — the temptation of it had entered his soul — and the only restraint or check that could have been laid on his power of seizing it, was already well-nigh neutralised by the statesmen at Whitehall. At the head of thousands of armed men, whose zeal had been always guided to victory by his genius — who looked up to him with implicit faith and unbounded admiration, and by whom his ears were saluted with loftier and more reverent adulation† than ever charmed the sense of a descendant of a hundred kings — he was now on his way to where more than the honours of royalty itself awaited him; the splendours of a regal palace, the subservience of the mightiest in the land, the thanks and

of the details of their court-martials) that a special reason existed for it. I grieve to have to state, that the spirit of mercy is by no means equally apparent in the treatment of the inferior prisoners. The greater part of the common soldiers taken were sent to the plantations, and fifteen hundred were granted to the Guinea merchants, and employed to work in the mines of Africa. This had been the policy of Cromwell in Ireland, and he followed it up in like manner at Dunbar, where the few that survived the presbyterian wreck were shipped to the West Indies, and sold to the factors of sugar estates. Some royalist rebels to the protectorate shared the same fate.

* At this time Cromwell's chaplain. See Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 447.

† Despatches from the general officers conclude after this fashion: "We humbly lay ourselves with these thoughts, in this emergency, at your excellency's feet." The ministers of Newcastle make their humble addresses to his "godly wisdom," and submit their "suits to God and his excellency." Petitioners from different counties solicit him to mediate for them to the parliament, "because God had not put the sword in his hand in vain."

blessings of the low. It ceases to be a matter of wonder that he should have shown unusual exultation ; that in his steps were uncontrollable bouyancy and eagerness of anticipation ; that the "golden round" which at last played visibly above his brows, should have betrayed him into forgetfulness of his profounder habits of concealment and self-control ; and that his republican chaplain, watching all signs and portents as he moved along, should have exclaimed to wondering companions, "That man would make himself our KING!" *

The parliamentary commissioners met the conqueror at a short distance from Aylesbury. His excitement had been brought under some subduement ; but yet the air of courtesy and condescension with which he received these carriers of honours, had a regal stamp upon it. Whitelocke has himself unconsciously described it. On the 11th of September, he tells us in his "Memorials,†" "the four members went from Aylesbury on the way the general was to come, and met him, and delivered their message to him from the parliament. The general received them with all kindness and respect, and after salutations and ceremonials past, he rode with them 'cross the fields, where Mr. Winwood's hawks met them, and the general, with them, and many officers, *went a little out of the way a hawking*, and came that night to Aylesbury. There they had much discourse (and my lord chief justice St. John more than all the rest‡) with the general, and they supped together. The general *gave to each of them that were sent to him, a horse and two Scots prisoners*, for a present and token of his thankful reception of the parliament's respect to him in sending them to meet and congratulate him." Our

* Ludlow distinctly tells us, that, among other actions denoting his treacherous purpose at this period, instead of acknowledging the services of those who came from all parts to assist against the common enemy, though he knew they had deserved as much honour as himself and the standing army, "he frowned upon them;" and the very next day after the fight, dismissed and sent them home; well knowing that an experienced militia was more likely to obstruct than to second him in his ambitious designs.

† P. 484.

‡ St. John, it is unnecessary to remind the reader, was Cromwell's kinsman, and deeper in his confidence than any other man of the time.

16th of September. "Cromwell sate in the house, and the speaker made a speech to him, and gave him the thanks of the house for his great services. . . . Cromwell and most of the members of parliament, and divers commanders of the army, were feasted by the lord mayor in London. . . . *The parliament resumed the debate touching a new representative.*"* This "new representative," the reader need not be told †, was the act which was to put a period to the sittings of this famous assembly, and to call together a new parliament, on the improved basis of an extended and popular suffrage.

Cromwell, in resuming his parliamentary duties by a revival of this debate, at once fixed public attention on the weak point of the present government, and diverted it from any suspicion of his own designs. The wily blow had been in some sort warded off by the previous movements of Vane‡; but it fell heavily still. There was another measure which he forced upon the house, with a like dishonest aim, and which finds mention by Whitelocke, in the record of the same day's proceedings — "Debate of an act of oblivion and general pardon, with some expedients for satisfaction of the soldiery, and the ease of the people."§ In other words, the all-powerful conqueror, out of the first excitement of gratitude in the midst of which he stood, forced from the reluctant statesmen their assent to a resolution of amnesty so wide, that it almost struck at the root of the commonwealth. || It was in effect resolved, that all political offences committed before the battle of Worcester should be forgiven, with the exception of certain cases, which seemed to demand the visitation of public justice. A decision which, though it implied a gross injustice to those who had already been mulcted heavily, relieved the royalists from all

* Memorials, p. 485.

† See Life of Vane, p. 138.

‡ See the detail of them in the Memoir of Vane, where the present subject is treated at much greater length.

§ Memorials, p. 485.

|| They assented, Ludlow observes, "the parliament being unwilling to deny Cromwell anything for which there was the least colour of reason." Vol. ii. p. 448.

apprehension of farther penalties. Cromwell in this served a twofold purpose. He largely increased the number of his personal friends, and, taking advantage of the opposition of the chief members of the government, he was able to increase the number of their personal enemies. Proscription and confiscation are at all times admirable charges to build a prejudice upon. It was not the least of his incidental advantages, moreover, that he considerably weakened the resources of the republican exchequer.

At this crisis, too, it was, that a higher than human power gave still greater impulse and practical efficacy to his vast design. On the 8th of December the fatal news reached London of the sudden death of the gallant and virtuous Ireton. It snapt the last bond which could, in the last extremity, have bound Cromwell to his duty, or imposed restraint on his parricide ambition.* Mrs. Hutchinson tells us, that on the very eve of this calamity, "Ireton had determined to come over to England, in order to divert Cromwell from his destructive courses." Whatever truth or error there may be in this assertion, it indicates at least the inflexible sentiments of this famous person. His last public action in regard to the commonwealth was worthy of his entire life. When the vote was transmitted to him immediately after the Worcester victory, by which he received an estate of two thousand a year, he alone, of all whom such grants enriched, refused acceptance. In the spirit of the antique days of Roman virtue†, he answered to the parliament, that their gift was unacceptable to him. "They had many just debts," he added, "which he desired they would pay, before they made any such presents; that he had no need of their land, and therefore would not have it; and that he should be

* Whitelocke says of him, that he was "very stiff in his ways and purposes;" a quality our supple lawyer could scarcely understand or appreciate the value of. "He was," he proceeds, "of good abilities for council, as well as action, and made much use of his pen. . . Cromwell had a great opinion of him, and no man could prevail so much, or order him so far, as Ireton could. . . He was stout in the field, and wary and prudent in his counsel, and exceedingly forward as to the business of a commonwealth."

† Bishop Burnet likened him to Cassius.

more contented to see them doing the service of the nation than so liberal in disposing of the public treasure."* His death, Whitelocke afterwards tells us, struck a sadness into Cromwell. This may well be doubted. The first momentary grief which such tidings must have caused, appears to have been absorbed at once in those projects of ambition from which the single remaining check had been thus suddenly and opportunely snatched away. His next thought, after the mournful tidings, was not of grief, but glory. The body of Ireton was ordered—in deference to the wishes of "the lord general and of some of his relations" who, according to Ludlow, were "were not ignorant of his vast designs now on foot"—to be brought over to England, and to be laid, after a magnificent funeral at the public charge, among the tombs of kings, in the abbey of Westminster. And, detailing this, Ludlow exclaims, with affectionate and high-souled enthusiasm, that if the great deceased could have foreseen what was thus done, he would certainly have made it his desire that his body might have found a grave where his soul left it, so much did he despise those pompous and expensive vanities; having erected for himself a more glorious monument in the hearts of good men, by his affection to his country, his abilities of mind, his impartial justice, his diligence in the public service, and his other virtues, which were a far greater honour to his memory than a dormitory among the ashes of kings.

But if any doubt remained that grief at this event held no supremacy in the breast of Cromwell, and that the event itself did not rather clear the great path before him, it is set at rest by a remarkable incident which dates on the second day after the news reached London. On the 10th of December, Cromwell summoned and held a meeting, at the speaker's house, of these friends, military and civil, who were supposed to be well affected towards his own political views. The two or three

* Brog. Britt, 316Q. Ludlow adds, "And truly I believe he was in earnest, for as he was always careful to husband those things that belonged to the state to the best advantage, so was he most liberal in employing his own purse and person in the public service."—*Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 371.

honest men who attended must have been startled at the question first propounded there ; but the majority of the meeting had few natural emotions to thrust in the way of anything that either honesty or dishonesty might propose. They were lawyers chiefly ; and Whitelocke, one of them, has happily left on record some detail of what passed.

The ground which Cromwell took in addressing these assembled gentlemen was,—“that now the old king being dead, and his son being defeated, he held it necessary to come to a settlement of the nation ;” and, in order thereunto, “he had requested this meeting, that they together might consider and advise what was fit to be done, and presented to the parliament.” By what pretension, it may be asked, could a servant of the republic thus presume to call its stability in question ? It is clear that, in the mere act of doing it, he was guilty of treason to the government then existing, and of which he was himself a member. Whitelocke tells us, that a “great many” were at the meeting . . . “divers members of parliament, and some chief officers of the army.” But Bradshaw would not attend, nor Vane, nor Marten, nor Scot, nor Blake, nor Harrington. Ludlow, by the wily craft of Cromwell, was in a sort of honourable banishment in Ireland, and what once was the soul of Ireton, lay a senseless clod on that distant shore. The meeting was obviously summoned in defiance of the council of the commonwealth ; only the lawyers who belonged to it, and who would as readily belong to any thing else, attended. It is clear that all who were emphatically called the statesmen held aloof from it ; and it would be an instance of their forgetfulness of duty, at once marvellous and irreconcilable with their previous character and actions, to have suffered such a meeting to go on, presuming that they knew its object,—were it not a proof more certain still, that in a sudden and general, and now for the first time visible and declared, defection of the army from their cause, they had lost all present power of prevention. To the PEOPLE remained their last appeal ; and this they had now resolved to make ; too late, alas !

for present success, but not too late for a lesson to posterity.

The speaker of the house of commons opened the conference. "My lord," he said, addressing Cromwell, "this company were very ready to attend your excellency; and the business you are pleased to propound to us is very necessary to be considered. God hath given marvellous success to our forces under your command; and if we do not improve these mercies to some settlement, such as may be to God's honour, and the good of this commonwealth, we shall be very much blameworthy." Hereupon, one of the few honest men who were present, but who was not more honest than gullible, major-general Harrison, interposed a few words, which are enough to express the delusions already widely spread among the republican officers as to the possibility of erecting a democracy of saints on the ruins of civil authority.* "I think," he remarked, "that which my lord-general hath propounded, is to advise as to a settlement, both of our civil *and spiritual liberties*; and so that the mercies which the Lord hath given unto us may not be cast away. How this may be done is the great question." And now much might have arisen from this of a very awkward bearing on the designs of Cromwell, had it not been for the lucky interposition of that most grave and accomplished lawyer, the lord commissioner Whitelocke. "It is a *great question*, indeed," he observes, "and not suddenly to be resolved; yet it were pity that a meeting of so many able and worthy persons as I see here should be fruitless. I should humbly offer in the first place, whether it be not requisite to be understood in what way this settlement is desired, *whether of an absolute republic, or with any mixture of monarchy?*" This was, to use a homely expression, hitting the nail on the right head, and accordingly, with equal force and promptitude, Cromwell

* See the last volume of this work, p. 163. Harrison's faith in Cromwell was, (and the other republican enthusiasts in the army shared it,) that he "pretended to love and favour a sort of men who acted upon higher principles than those of civil liberty."

followed up the blow. "My lord commissioner Whitelocke," he exclaimed, "*hath put us upon the right point.* It is, indeed, my meaning that we should consider whether a republic, or a mixed monarchical government, will be best to be settled; and," he added, with that careless air which so often veiled the profoundest workings of ambition in him, "*if anything monarchical, then in whom that power shall be placed?*"

The discussion thus fairly launched, the various speakers embarked in it without further hesitation. Sir Thomas Widdrington (who was in so far honestly disposed to monarchy, that he had resigned the commission of the great seal upon the passing of that memorable vote* which should have brought these ingenious gentlemen debaters within the penalties of treason) at once, with much candour — a great deal too much for Cromwell — thus tendered his opinion: "I think a mixed monarchical government will be most suitable to the laws and people of the nation; and if any thing monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just *to place that power in one of the sons of the late king.*" Cromwell betraying some uneasiness at this, his friend colonel Fleetwood, who afterwards married the widow of Ireton, and was a man of reasonable but not very strong inclinations to a republic, advanced to his relief, and again generalised the discussion after this vague fashion: "I think that the question, whether an absolute republic, or a mixed monarchy, is best to be settled in this nation, will not be very easy to be determined." Upon this, the lord chief justice, Oliver Saint John, offered a remark of much general force, and no particular application, which was all the better for his great cousin and confidant Cromwell: "It will be found," he said, "that the government of this nation, *without some thing of monarchical power*, will be very difficult to be so settled as not to shake the foundation of our laws,

* "THAT THE OFFICE OF KING IN THIS NATION, OR TO HAVE THE POWER IN A SINGLE PERSON, IS UNNECESSARY, BURTHENSOME, AND DANGEROUS TO THE LIBERTY, SAFETY, AND PUBLIC INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE."

and the liberties of the people." The speaker chimed in with this : — " It will breed a strange confusion," he remarked, " to settle a government of this nation *without something of monarchy.*" He had scarcely made the remark, however, when a thoroughly honest man, of short-sighted zeal, but most sincere purpose, turned round to St. John, and put this startling question : " I beseech you, my lord, why may not this, as well as other nations, be governed in the way of a republic ?" The lord commissioner Whitelocke made reply to it : " The laws of England are so interwoven with the power and practice of monarchy, that to settle a government without something of monarchy, would make so great an alteration in the proceedings of our laws, that you have scarce time to rectify, nor can we well foresee, the inconveniences which will arise thereby." Most shallow, learned, and lawyer-like reply !

The only other man who seems to have spoken with an appearance of honesty, rose after it had been delivered, and frankly observed that it was unintelligible to him. " I do not," added colonel Whalley, " well understand matters of law ; but it seems to me the best way, *not to have any thing of monarchical power* in the settlement of our government ; and, *if we should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon ?* 'The king's eldest son hath been in arms against us, and his second son is likewise our enemy.'" If Whalley here intended, however (for his close relationship to Cromwell, and his subsequent crawling subservience to him, cannot fail to induce suspicion), merely to narrow the question of a kingly successor to some great man taken from the people—as it is clear that Cromwell throughout the meeting desired—Widdrington foiled the attempt by this earnest and honest proposition : " But the late king's third son, the duke of Gloucester, is still among us, and too young to have been in arms against us, or infected with the principles of our enemies." Whitelocke, upon this, as if to shift the question once more to some point of general disagreement, and so relieve the uneasiness of Crom-

well, revived one of the old proposals. "There may," he said, "be a day given for the king's eldest son, or for the duke of York, his brother, to come into the parliament; and, upon such terms as shall be thought fit and agreeable, both to our civil and spiritual liberties, a settlement may be made with them."

Cromwell, however, who had been restless and dissatisfied as these latter views were urged, here interposed, with a statement of some force and brevity and obviously designed to wind up the conference. "*That,*" he said, in reference to Whitelocke's last remark, "*will be a business of more than ordinary difficulty;* but, really I think, if it may be done with safety and preservation of our rights, *both as Englishmen and Christians, THAT A SETTLEMENT WITH SOMEWHAT OF MONARCHICAL POWER IN IT WOULD BE VERY EFFECTUAL.*"

The memorialist concludes his account by saying, that "much other discourse was by divers gentlemen then present held upon other points, and too large to be here inserted. Generally, the soldiers were against any thing of monarchy, though every one of them was a monarch in his own regiment or company; the lawyers were generally for a mixt monarchical government, and many were for the duke of Gloucester to be made king; *but Cromwell still put off that debate, and came off to some other point;* and in conclusion, after a long debate, the company parted without coming to any result at all; only Cromwell *discovered by this meeting the inclinations of the persons that spake, for which he fished, and made use of what he then discerned.*" But if words bear any meaning, he had also, while doing this, revealed his own inclinations. No man who attended that meeting could thereafter doubt that he was for a "settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it."

The guardians of the republic had not been idle meanwhile. On the 18th of the preceding month*,

* See Parl. Hist., vol. xx. p. 78.



after a long and severe struggle, the details of which have found a more appropriate place in another portion of this work*, a bill was passed to limit the duration of the parliament then sitting at Westminster, to the 3d of November, 1654. Numerous and close divisions attested the energy and excitement of both parties in the house at this memorable crisis. Each alternately triumphed. Cromwell professed to have achieved his desire by forcing on the house a defined period for its dissolution — the statesmen had most assuredly achieved theirs in accompanying the act with a proviso, that, for a certain period at least, the new elections should not interfere with the right of the present members to retain their privileges and seats. This was made the bitterest charge against them afterward, and Cromwell relied upon it for the main justification of his subsequent disgraceful dissolution of them. But they were entitled, as events well proved, to have reasoned on the matter as they did. The first occasion for trusting the people having been lost, it became a duty of deep and deliberate caution how best to select or shape the second. The suspected intrigues of Cromwell and his officers — the half declared discontents which pervaded the great body of the army — the birth of the venomous reptiles that had only started into power from the warmth of the bosoms against which they now traitorously turned — these warned the founders and guardians of the commonwealth that, the first opportunity of entire faith in the people having been lost, the second had not yet arrived. Marten's simile here came again to their aid.† When "Moses was found upon the river, and brought to Pharaoh's daughter, she took care that *the mother might be found out*, to whose care he might be committed to be nursed. . . . Their commonwealth was yet an infant, of a weak growth, and a very tender constitution; and, therefore, his opinion was, that nobody could be so fit to nurse it, as the mother who brought

* Life of Vane.

† See Life of Marten, p. 324.

it forth ; and that they should not think of putting it in any other hands, until it had obtained more years and vigour." Arguing from this, they held, that to leave the cradle of the republic unwatched by some staunch and reliable friends, at a time when the sword flashed danger above it, and safety was not altogether discernible in the features or attitude of the great mass of the people, would be a danger to its life and growth little short of the treason that threatened it more openly. In all this Vane does not seem to have thoroughly concurred. He would now have acted in manly reparation of what he felt to have been the first error of the fathers of the commonwealth, and would have trusted — with a faith that was honourable to his high spirit and pure soul — to the beneficial result of some general convention of the people or of the people's just representatives. Beyond a doubt he was overruled — but whether wisely or not, in the present instance, admits of question, since every day that had passed since the Worcester victory had served to accumulate greater dangers and difficulties around the paths and policy of the statesmen. The bill they passed instead, was, at least, a generous and (if the expression is allowed) a fearless compromise. Reserving for the councils of the commonwealth, the wisdom and experience of the men who had framed them first, it threw at the same time into the hands of the people the power of sending into the house a large majority of their own. The lofty motives and services of its leading advocates should be a warrant for the justice of all else which they designed to accomplish by it. And in proof of these lofty motives, little is necessary to the readers of this work beyond a mention of their names. Besides Vane, there were Bradshaw, Marten, Harrington, Scot, Sidney, Haselrig, Neville, and Blake. On the opposite side were ranged Cromwell, all his military myrmidons, and a decided majority of the lawyers.

The next grand question taken up by the statesmen, struck at the root of Cromwell's power. This was a

reduction of the army. Never had the number of men in arms, under the direction of the English government, been so great as at the period of the battle of Worcester.* The number of the land forces amounted to upwards of fifty thousand men; and the monthly assessment necessary for their support amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand pounds. Within six days after the battle of Worcester, Vane had commenced the agitation of this question, on a motion that parliament should instantly take into consideration how to decrease the charge of the commonwealth; and within a few weeks he had, to a certain extent, achieved his point. The forces were then diminished, we find, by upwards of a fourth, and the amount of assessment stood at ninety thousand pounds. Five months passed, and the subject was again in discussion. It appears, however, to have been brought to a temporary pause by a letter from Cromwell to the speaker, the mention of which, without any detail of its contents, is to be found in the journals of the time. With the lapse of two months more, we find the question once more revived; and, on the 12th of August 1652, there is a resolution on the journals, that it be referred to the council of state to give an account,

* *Exclusively* of the forces on actual service in Ireland, Cromwell had at this time under his command thirty regiments of horse, one of dragoons, and eighteen of foot, which, computing by the standard of February, 1648, amounted to 10,440 horse, and 24,000 foot: they certainly rather exceeded than fell short of this number. The institution of the militia had fallen into disuse during the civil war, the militia regiments having been merged in the regulars. This institution had been handed down to us from our Saxon ancestors, and consisted of a certain number of the inhabitants of every county, chosen by lot for three years, officered by the lord lieutenant, the deputy lieutenants, and principal landholders, who were exercised for a few days in each year, and were not compellable to march out of their own counties, except in cases of invasion or rebellion. On the ceasing of the civil war, this institution was revived by an act of the 11th of July, 1650, and again of the 28th of January, 1651. Each of these acts was in force for six months, and the last appears to have been suffered to expire. In contemplation however of the Scottish invasion, 3000 horse and 1000 dragoons, for six months, were voted to be added to the forces in lieu of the militia on the 8th of April, and 4000 foot, for three months, on the 1st of August. On the 12th, intelligence of an actual invasion being received, an act passed through all its stages in that one day, for reviving and renewing the expired act concerning the militia, to continue in force till the 1st of December; and it appears, that the regiments of militia being every where in arms, hindered the king's friends from assembling. — *Godwin's History.*

with all convenient speed, of the former vote respecting the retrenchment of the forces.

This seems to have decided Cromwell. Upon one burning purpose he instantly concentrated all his energies and all his power. He declared open war upon the parliament. He harangued his officers on the infirmities and self-seekings of its leading members. His own object, he declared, was equality, and a pure commonwealth, without a king, or permanent chief magistrate of any kind. He had sought the Lord, and divine symbols of grace had been manifested to him! Their present governors were lazy, baleful, unclean men — ungrateful to the army which had perilled all for them — insensible to their God, who had Himself declared for England! The kingdom of Christ was near, if the saints would only strike for it! The same excitement which had descended on him at the eves of Worcester and Dunbar, promised him now no less a victory.

On the 12th of August—the very day on which, as I have stated, the fatal subject of military retrenchment was resumed in the house of commons—a council of officers was held at Whitehall.* On the 13th of August, a petition was presented to the parliament by them, which no longer† limited its view to their own particular concerns, but comprehended a general survey of the affairs of the nation, and dictated, as from master to servant, what would be best and most wisely done.

This petition is of too much importance in every sense to be omitted here. It began with stating, that having had divers meetings to seek the Lord, and to

* Several proceedings, No. 151.

† Journals. Whitelocke, p. 516. I should mention, that on the 27th of the preceding January a petition had been presented from the council of officers with swords in their hands, to the army in Scotland. It was referred to the committee of parliament for military affairs; and, by their recommendation, a bill was passed on the 7th of April, directing the application of 150,000*l.* to the discharge of those arrears. And while on this subject I may mention here, that in the following month Cromwell declined the prolongation of his commission of lord lieutenant of Ireland; and that, on the 9th of July, Fleetwood was appointed to the chief command of the forces in that country.

speak of the great things God had done for the commonwealth, it had been set on their hearts as their duty, to offer such things in behalf of their country, as in their judgments and consciences might tend to its peace and well being. In pursuance of this design, they therefore had with one consent thought fit humbly to present to the house the following particulars, desiring they might be taken into early and serious consideration. First, that speedy and effectual means might be taken for the propagation of the Gospel ; that profane, scandalous, and ignorant ministers might be ejected, and men approved for godliness and gifts encouraged ; that a convenient maintenance might be provided for them ; and the unequal, troublesome, and contentious way of tithes be taken away. Secondly, that a speedy and effectual course might be pursued for the regulation of law, in matter, form, and administration, in all particulars in which it was needlessly vexatious, or burdensome to the people. For this purpose, they recommended that the results already agreed on by the committee appointed for that end, might be without delay taken into consideration, and that the committee might be encouraged to proceed. Thirdly, that a speedy and effectual course might be taken by act of parliament or otherwise, that such as were profane, scandalous, or disaffected in all places of authority and public trust, might be removed, and their places filled with men of good public affections and blameless lives ; it being the desire of all good men, that the magistrates, and such as have public trust, might be men of truth, fearing God, and hating covetousness. Fourthly, that a committee might be appointed in each county to redress the abuses of the excise. Fifthly, that such as had freely lent on the public faith, or deeply suffered for their constant and good affections to the public, might be considered, and a way found out to give them satisfaction ; and, first of all, the poorer sort, who were not able to subsist without it ; and this to be chiefly regarded, before any more of the revenue should be given to particular persons. The

sixth and seventh articles related to the arrears of the soldier, and the articles of war granted to the enemy, which were by all means to be made good. Eighthly, that the whole revenue of the state might be brought into one treasury, and the account of receipts and disbursements be published yearly or half-yearly. Ninthly, that, in regard of the present great affairs of the parliament, a committee might be appointed of persons not members, to consider of the charge and inconvenience that arose to the commonwealth from monopolies, pluralities of places of profit, unnecessary places, and large salaries. Tenthly, that a way might be considered of for a thorough and effectual suppressing of all vagabonds and common beggars, by setting to work such as were capable, and providing for the subsistence of such as through age and decrepitude were unable to relieve themselves. Eleventhly, that effectual provision might be made, that such as had served the parliament in the late wars should not be bereaved of the fruits of their industry by the exclusive nature of several corporations. Twelfthly, that, for the public satisfaction of the good people of this nation, speedy consideration might be had of such qualifications for future and successive parliaments, as should tend to the election only of such as were pious, and faithful to the interests of the commonwealth.*

Insincerity and selfishness are most apparent in this petition. It bears very impressively upon it, in all its main features, the character of the source from which it issued. It is not that the requests urged in it are unjust, but that they are partial, and leave unsolicited, save by the most general phrase, those claims which only two months before had been urged in detail upon parliament, by thousands of the common people†, and

* This is taken from *Several Proceedings*, No. 151.; and see Godwin's *Commonwealth*, vol. in. p. 421.

† In a most striking document which I find among the records of the time Far different was this prayer from that of the discontented officers. It was "signed by many thousands," and began by setting forth the "miseries of the war," which they had cheerfully endured, in the hope that "their rights and the *fundamental laws* (formerly corrupted by the king,

which were known to be at that instant in the consideration of the house. The officers here would separate themselves from the common mass of popular petitioners. They set themselves up as a party in the state. They put forward their petition as a leader of opposition in parliament puts forth an anti-ministerial resolution. Nor is it difficult to detect in it that anxiety for the predominance of "higher principles than those of civil

with his instruments, the clergy, lawyers, and statesmen) would be restored, as was promised, by the parliament and army." The first section then asks for the restoration of the "old law of the land" in all matters of attachment and trial, and that "whatsoever hath been done contrary thereto, by committees, courts-martial, high courts of justice, or the like, may be abolished." The second solicits the jury trial in every case; and the third, that "no man be compelled by oath to answer against himself." The fourth requires, what is, after upwards of two centuries, only feebly advancing in the house of commons of our own day, the establishment of county courts. The words employed are memorable, — "That all suits may be determined without appeal, by a prefix time, in the hundred, or county courts by juries; and *no more tedious travelling to London*; nor vexation, and consumption of men's estates, by the chancery and other courts of Westminster; nor further attendance upon committees; nor long imprisonment *but may not be denied*; *may be provided for* by gaolers;"

run in these memorable words. — "That none be questioned or molested for matter of conscience or religion, the grounds of implacable trouble, and the very spawn of tyranny and superstition; and that tithes sprung from the same root and tending to the same ends, and to the obstruction of tillage and industry, *may also cease, and no enforced maintenance imposed in the place thereof*; and that copyholds and the like, and the court of wards, and unjust descents to the eldest son only, the principal remaining badges of the Norman conquest, and main support of regal tyranny, may be taken away." Nor are the closing passages of this remarkable document less worthy of most attentive consideration. They express, with condensed wisdom and force, many of the worst grievances under which, to the shame of all the parliaments that have since sat at Westminster be it spoken, the common people of England labour still, and the wiser and more prudent of their representatives still vainly struggle for. "That there be *no imprisonment for debt*" requires the eighth section, "*but all estates be made liable to make satisfaction, NOR THE RICH TURN PRISONS INTO PLACES OF PROTECTION.*" The ninth and tenth solicit thus: "That none be pressed for war, the power of countries being sufficient to suppress all insurrections and foreign invasions. That *TRADE BE FREE*, and exempt from monopolies, and disburdening customs, excise, and all charges; and all public monies to be equally raised." The three last sections are in these words: "That all sheriffs, justices, coroners, constables, and the like, be annually chosen *by those of the place*; that all laws contrary to these fundamentals be repealed; that parliaments or common-councils of England may be returned to the old course to be annually elected; and satisfaction given to the nation in point of accounts; and the public faith satisfied; arrears of soldiers paid; gages and; for them;

liberty" in the councils of the state, which Harrison afterwards avowed to Ludlow* had been the staple of Cromwell's eloquence and persuasion at the meetings of the military enthusiasts.

It was carried into the house by a deputation of six, every one of whom was Cromwell's creature ; commissary-general Whalley, colonels Hacker, Barkstead, Okey, and Goffe, and lieutenant-colonel Worsley. The authorities of the house received it with a prudent respect and consideration, which did not restrain, in various quarters, the expression of widely different views. "Many," according to the sober Whitelocke, who, it is to be observed, generally limits his disapproval of Cromwell's acts to the mere desire that he had chosen other methods of advancing them, "many were unsatisfied with this petition, looking upon it as improper, if not arrogant, from the officers of the army to the parliament their masters ; and Cromwell was advised† to stop this way of their petitioning by the officers of the army, with their swords in their hands, *lest in time it may come too home to himself*. But he seemed to slight, or rather to have some design by, it ; in order to which he put them to prepare way for him." Waiving all sense of any such possible projects or designs, the authorities of the house acted with greater dignity. They resolved to refer the petition to a committee, consisting of *Cromwell himself*, Whitelocke, Lisle, the earl of Pembroke, Marten, Scot, *Harrison*, and twenty-five other members, who were directed to inquire *how many of the particulars in the petition were already under consideration* ; how far they had been proceeded in ; and whether any new powers were necessary to enable the persons commissioned to proceed more effectually ; and to report accordingly. The speaker also, by the direction of the house, gave thanks to the petitioners, both for their good affections formerly displayed, and their care of the public expressed on the present occasion. And so ended

* See the last volume of this work, p. 168.

† By Whitelocke himself.

the first act of the war between the parliament and the army — leaving with the statesmen, beyond a possibility of doubt, the praise of superior generalship.

Not for this did Cromwell relax in his efforts. It is, however, an indisputable test of the violent, gratuitous, and most unjust character of the deed he had resolved, that we find every step in his course towards it beset with difficulties which in no other object of his life he had encountered, and which, if parliament had been brave enough a little earlier to have placed confidence in the people, he would have found altogether insurmountable. It is not thus that historians have generally written this history, or the details might scarcely have claimed a place here. The poor rump, according to them, was merely contemptible. One kick, however careless or feeble, was the sufficient warrant for its disappearance, its dispersion, its death, its utter and final oblivion!

The first step taken in the house after the business of the military petition, had reference to the bill for the dissolution of the parliament, and the provision for future parliaments in succession. A report was made by Vane from the committee to whom it had been entrusted, and the result was a dissolution of the grand committee, or committee of the whole house, which had sat on the bill at intervals for the last eleven months, and the sending back the measure itself to be perfected to the committee from whom they received the present report. The tendency of this was to simplify future proceedings on this important subject, and to bring them as speedily as possible to a close. And hardly was it done, before the question of military retrenchments again reared its formidable head. Vane and his friends rightly judged, in thus striking through the army, powerful as it was, for support in the sympathies of the people. It at least, if too late now for more immediate advantage, unfitted them for Cromwell's tyranny. On no subject did they feel with the statesmen so strongly as on this. And with reason! Taxes had ground them to the earth, and

without some instant diminution of the military establishments, it was vain even to talk of a fit remission of their burdens.

It marks still the doubt, the anxiety, the fear of Cromwell, that the next step he took in his great game argues a new distrust of the machinery he had been so long providing to work the designs of his ambition with. His project of usurpation upon the supreme power is unswerving throughout; but the extreme agitation with which, from side to side, he seeks differing means of achieving it, betrays the utter falsehood of the pretence of public acquiescence and desire to which he afterwards attempted to resort. At one instant we behold him trying the temper of the swords of his veteran Ironsides, at another exploring the quabty of mettle that lurked beneath the gowns and wigs of the Lawyers of the state.

Thus the incident which awaits us now is a conference that passed between Cromwell and the lord commissioner Whitelocke. They met, by accident or design, on the evening of the 8th of November, in the present year, in a retired part of St. James's Park. The lord general on seeing the lord commissioner "saluted him him with more than ordinary courtesy; and desired him to walk aside with him, that they might have some *private discourse* together." This private discourse Whitelocke set down in his diary, and after the restoration it was given to the world.

"My lord Whitelocke," Cromwell began, "I know your faithfulness and engagement in the same good cause with myself and the rest of our friends, and I know your ability in judgment, and your particular friendship and affection for me; indeed I am sufficiently satisfied in these things, and therefore I desire to advise with you in the main and most important affairs relating to our present condition. . . . I have cause to be, and am, without the least scruple of your faithfulness; and I know your kindness to me your old friend, and your abilities to serve the commonwealth; and there are enough besides me that can testify it. And I believe

our engagements for this commonwealth have been and are as deep as most men's ; and there never was more need of advice, and solid hearty counsel, than the present state of our affairs doth require."

To this invitation for "solid hearty counsel" in the specious name of the *good cause*, the prudent lawyer responded in general terms of caution, and then added,— "The goodness of your own nature and personal knowledge of me will keep you from any jealousy of my faithfulness." To this Cromwell, with many protestations of belief and trust, discreetly rejoined. "I wish there was no more ground of suspicion of others than of you. I can trust you with my life, and the most secret matters relating to our business ; and to that end I have now desired a little private discourse with you ; and really, my lord, there is very great cause for us to consider the dangerous condition we are all in, and how to make good our station, to improve the mercies and successes which God hath given us ; and not to be fooled out of them again, nor to be broken in pieces by our particular jarrings and animosities one against another ; but to unite our counsels, and hands, and hearts, to make good what we have so dearly bought, with so much hazard, blood, and treasure ; and that, the Lord having given us an entire conquest over our enemies, we should not now hazard all again by our private janglings, and bring those mischiefs upon ourselves, which our enemies could never do."

The lord commissioner, flattered by this cordial look of confidence, appears to have shown an instant disposition to enter into the heart of the business. "My lord," he said, "I look upon our present danger as greater than ever it was in the field, and (as your excellency truly observes) our proneness to destroy ourselves, when our enemies could not do it. It is no strange thing for a gallant army, as yours is, after full conquest of their enemies, to grow into factions and ambitious designs." "I have used," interposed Cromwell, "and shall use, the utmost of my poor endeavours

to keep them all in order and obedience." "Your excellency," admitted Whitelocke courteously, "hath done it hitherto even to admiration."

Taking advantage of this the lord general proceeded to observe with much fervour, and a marvellous lack of shame, on the discontents he had himself cherished, for his own purposes, in the military councils. "Truly," he said, first answering to the lord commissioner's compliment, "God hath blessed me in it exceedingly, and I hope will do so still. Your lordship hath observed most truly, the inclinations of the officers of the army to particular factions, and to murmurings that they are not rewarded according to their deserts; that others, who have adventured least, have gained most; and they have neither profit, nor preferment, nor place in government, which others hold, who have undergone no hardships nor hazards for the commonwealth; and herein they have too much of truth, yet their insolency is very great, and their influence upon the private soldiers works them to the like discontent and murmurings. Then, as for the members of parliament, *the army begins to have a strange distaste against them, and I wish there were not too much cause for it*; and really their *pride, ambition, and self-seeking, engrossing all places of honour and profit* to themselves and their friends, and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions; their delays of business, and designs to perpetuate themselves, and to continue the power in their own hands; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the institution of parliaments, and their unjustness and partiality in these matters, and *the scandalous lives of some of the chief of them*; these things, my lord, do give too much ground for people to open their mouths against them, and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds of justice, law, or reason; they themselves being the supreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controlled or regulated by any other power, there being none superior, or co-ordinate with them. So that, *unless there be some*

authority and power so full and so high as to restrain and keep things in better order; and that may be a check to these exorbitancies, it will be impossible, in human reason, to prevent our ruin."

But the wily lawyer was not to be caught so fast. He admitted much, but kept more in reserve. "I confess," he said, "the danger we are all in, by these extravagances and inordinate powers, is more than, I doubt, is generally apprehended. . . . As to the members of parliament, I confess the greatest difficulty lies there; *your commission being from them*, and they being acknowledged the supreme power of the nation, subject to no control, nor allowing any appeal from them. Yet I am sure your excellency *will not look upon them as generally depraved*; too many of them are much to blame in those things you have mentioned, and many unfit things have passed among them; *but I hope well of the major part of them, when great matters come to a decision.*" Cromwell upon this, with well painted passion, made the show of an earnest appeal to his lawyer friend. "My lord, my lord, there is little hopes of a settlement to be made by them, really there is not; but a great deal of fear, that they will destroy again what the Lord hath done graciously for them and us; we all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to confusion; and these men will help it on, if they be suffered to proceed in their ways; *some course must be thought on, to curb and restrain them, or we shall be ruined by them.*" Whitelocke quietly remarked to this: "We ourselves have acknowledged them the supreme power, and taken our commissions and authority in the highest concernments from them; and how to curb them, after this, *it will be hard to find out a way for it.*"

This was the very point to which the energetic captain desired to bring his learned and most meditative associate. Flinging off all further reserve, he frankly, boldly, and abruptly asked, "WHAT IF A MAN SHOULD TAKE UPON HIM TO BE KING?"

This question, be it observed, was addressed to one who stood high in the confidence of the leaders of the republic, and who himself, indeed, was one of its chief administrators. But no shadow of anger or remonstrance fell upon the treasonable thought. Most quiet and civil was the lord commissioner's reply. "*I think that remedy would be worse than the disease.*" Cromwell subjoined quickly, "Why do you think so?"

In his answer, most memorable for that, the thorough-paced master of law and stratagem soothed the excitement of the great soldier by pointing out to him all he MIGHT do, while he affected to advise him as to what should not be done. He "settled" on the instant a "draft" of the protectorate! "As to your own person, the title of king would be of no advantage; because you have the full kingly power in you already, concerning the militia, as you are general. As to the nomination of civil officers, those whom you think fittest are seldom refused; and although you have no negative vote in the passing of laws, yet what you dislike will not easily be carried; and the taxes are already settled, and in your power to dispose the money raised. And as to foreign affairs, though the ceremonial application be made to the parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad success in it is from your excellency, and particular solicitations of foreign ministers are made to you only; so that I apprehend, indeed, less envy, and danger, and pomp, but not less power, and real opportunities of doing good, in your being general, than would be if you had assumed the title of king."

It is clear that the only sensible difference between the interlocutors in this famous dialogue, was one of *time*. Whitelocke's protectorate would scarcely have been so sudden. But such a difference was more than enough for Cromwell. His active share in the conference ended at this point; and in all that followed he was simply unrolling, for self-guidance on minor matters, the entire map of the lord commissioner's plan.

First meeting him with his own weapons, he fathomed

the lawyer's view of the popular feeling of the nation. "I have heard," said Cromwell, "some of your profession observe,—that he who is actually king, whether by election or descent, yet being once king, all acts done by him as king, are as lawful and justifiable as by any king who hath the crown by inheritance from his forefathers; and that, by an act of parliament in Henry the Seventh's time, it is safer for those who act under a king, be his title what it will, than for those who act under any other power. And surely the power of a king is so great and high, *and so universally understood and revered by the people of this nation*, that the title of it might not only indemnify, in a great measure, those that act under it, but likewise be of great use and advantage in such times as these, to curb the insolence of those whom the present powers cannot control, or at least are the persons themselves who are thus insolent." Whitelocke in answering this, more plainly insinuated his doubts as to time. "I agree in the general what you are pleased to observe as to this title of king; but whether for your excellency to take this title upon you *as things now are*, will be for the good and advantage either of yourself and friends, or of the commonwealth, I do very much doubt, notwithstanding that act of parliament, 11 Hen. VII., *which will be little regarded, or observed to us by our enemies, if they should come to get the upper hand of us.*"

Upon this the lord general fairly asked—"What do you apprehend would be the danger of taking this title?" And Whitelocke as fairly answered. "The danger, I think, would be this,—One of the main points of controversy betwixt us and our adversaries is, whether the government of this nation shall be established in monarchy, or in a free state or commonwealth? And most of our friends have engaged with us upon the hopes of having the government settled in a free state; and to effect that, have undergone all their hazards and difficulties, they being persuaded, though I think much mistaken, that under the government of a

commonwealth they shall enjoy more liberty and right, both as to their spiritual and civil concerns, than they shall under a monarchy, the pressures and dislike whereof are so fresh in their memories and sufferings. Now, if your excellency should take upon you the title of king, this state of your cause will be thereby wholly determined, and monarchy established in your person; and the question will be no more, whether our government shall be by a monarch or by a free state, but, whether Cromwell or Stuart shall be our king and monarch? And that question, whereinbefore so great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was universal, *will by this means become, in effect, a private controversy only. Before it was national, What kind of government we should have? Now it will become particular, Who shall be our governor, whether of the family of the Stuarts, or of the family of the Cromwells?* Thus the state of our controversy being totally changed, all those who were for a commonwealth (*and they are a very great and considerable party*), having their hopes therein frustrated, will desert you; your hands will be weakened, your interest straitened, and your cause in apparent danger to be ruined."

Here, however, all semblance of sincerity or fairness seems to vanish from the worthy lord commissioner, and we are irresistibly called upon to remember the significant fact, that the conference was not published till after the restoration. A slight preliminary interchange of compliment and courtesy first claims record. It ran thus.

"CROMWELL. *I confess you speak reason in this; but what other thing can you propound, that may obviate the present dangers and difficulties wherein we are all engaged?* — WHITELOCKE. *It will be the greatest difficulty to find out such an expedient. I have had many things in my private thoughts upon this business, some of which, perhaps, are not fit, or safe, for me to communicate.* — CROMWELL. *I pray, my lord, what are they? You may trust me with them; there shall no*

prejudice come to you by any private discourse betwixt us. I shall never betray my friend; you may be as free with me as with your own heart, and shall never suffer by it. — **WHITELOCKE.** I make no scruple to put my life and fortune into your excellency's hand; and so I shall, if I impart these fancies to you, which are weak, and perhaps may prove offensive to your excellency; therefore my best way will be to smother them. — **CROMWELL.** Nay, I prithee, my lord Whitelocke, let me know them: be they what they will, they cannot be offensive to me, but I shall take it kindly from you; therefore, I pray, do not conceal those thoughts of yours from your faithful friend. — **WHITELOCKE.** Your excellency honours me with a title far above me; and since you are pleased to command it, I shall discover to you my thoughts herein; and humbly desire you not to take in ill part what I shall say to you. — **CROMWELL.** Indeed I shall not; but I shall take it, as I said, very kindly from you. — **WHITELOCKE.** Give me leave then, first, to consider your excellency's condition. You are environed with secret enemies. Upon your subduing of the public enemy, the officers of your army account themselves all victors, and to have had an equal share in the conquest with you. The success which God hath given us hath not a little elated their minds; and many of them are busy and of turbulent spirits, and are not without their designs how they may dismount your excellency, and some of themselves get up into the saddle; how they may bring you down, and set up themselves. They want not counsel and encouragement herein; it may be from some members of the parliament, who may be jealous of your power and greatness, lest you should grow too high for them, and in time overmaster them; and they will plot to bring you down first, or to clip your wings. — **CROMWELL.** I thank you that you so fully consider my condition; it is a testimony of your love to me, and care of me, and you have rightly considered it; and I may say, without vanity, that in my condition yours is involved,

and all our friends ; and those that plot my ruin will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you. Besides this, the cause itself may possibly receive some disadvantage by the strugglings and contentions among ourselves. But what, sir, are your thoughts for prevention of those mischiefs that hang over our heads ? ”

Those thoughts are then recorded thus ; — and when they first saw the light, Charles II. had pardoned the safe rebellion of Whitelocke, and was revelling and rejoicing on his pensioned throne. “ Pardon me, sir, in the next place, a little to consider the condition of the king of Scots. This prince being now by your valour, and the success which God hath given to the parliament, and to the army under your command, reduced to a very low condition, *both he, and all about him, cannot but be very inclinable to hearken to any terms, whereby their lost hopes may be revived of his being restored to the crown, and they to their fortunes and native country. By a private treaty with him you may secure yourself, and your friends and their fortunes ; you may make yourself and your posterity as great and permanent, to all human probability, as ever any subject was, and provide for your friends ; you may put such limits to monarchical power as will secure our spiritual and civil liberties, and you may secure the cause in which we are all engaged ; and this may be effectually done, by having the power of the militia continued in yourself, and whom you shall agree upon after you. I propound, therefore, for your excellency to send to the king of Scots, and to have a private treaty with him for this purpose ; and I beseech you to pardon what I have said upon the occasion. It is out of my affection and service to your excellency and to all honest men ; and I humbly pray you not to have any jealousy thereupon of my approved faithfulness to your excellency and to this commonwealth.*”

If anything like this were really said, there is much pleasant contempt in the tone of Cromwell’s reply ! “ I

have not," he remarked, "I assure you, the least distrust of your faithfulness and friendship to me, and to the cause of this commonwealth, and I think you have much reason for what you propound; but it is a matter of so high importance and difficulty, that it deserves more time of consideration and debate than is at present allowed us. *We shall therefore take a further time to discourse of it.*" "And with this," adds our memorialist, "the general brake off, and went to other company, and so into Whitehall; seeming, by his countenance and carriage, displeased with what had been said; yet he never objected it against Mr. Whitelocke in any public meeting afterwards; only his carriage towards him, from that time, was altered, and his advising with him not so frequent and intimate as before; and it was not long after that he found an occasion, by an honourable employment, to send him out of the way (as some of his nearest relations, particularly his daughter Claypole, confessed,) that he might be no obstacle or impediment to his ambitious designs."

Making every due concession to Whitelocke's amusing self-conceit, and to lady Claypole's womanly good-humour in flattering it, it is incumbent upon us to state our strong impression that Cromwell never at any time proposed to himself the unnecessary trouble of erecting the pliant lord commissioner into anything like an obstacle or impediment; and also to subjoin the fact, that the "honourable employment" for sending our state lawyer "out of the way*" was not even thought of

* Another person of somewhat greater importance was also, within three months of this time, sent out of the way by Cromwell's influence Henry, duke of Gloucester, and the princess Elizabeth, children of Charles I., were in England at their father's death. (See p. 229 of my last volume.) The council of the commonwealth had proposed, in 1650, to send the duke to his brother in Scotland, and the princess to her sister in Holland, allowing a thousand a year to each *quandiu se bene gesserint*. (See Journals, July 24. and Sept. 11. in that year.) But on the 8th of Sept., Elizabeth suddenly died, and the young brother remained under the charge of the governor of Carisbrook till within three months of the period I am now describing. Then it was that Cromwell advised the young prince's tutor, Lovel, whom Clarendon speaks of highly, to ask permission from the government for his safe removal to his sister, the princess of Orange. This the high-minded republicans granted at once, and accompanied the concession with the sum of 500*l*. to defray the expense of his voyage, and the promise of an annual stipend if he would not join the rebellious scheme of his elder brothers. This act of magnanimity, not a singular act with these

till, by a most atrocious act of usurpation, Cromwell had not only declared his ambitious designs, but proved the innocent helplessness of any obstacle that Whitelocke could possibly oppose to them. It was merely to prevent the intrusion of needless and impertinent forms into the detailed project of the protectorate, that, on the eve of the regular instalment of that mode of despotism, the Swedish embassy* was devised for the meddling man of law. Of the conference itself, it is only needful to remark further, that it was chiefly useful to Cromwell in proving the aid of Whitelocke useless. He turned back to his military council.

Lambert's influence he had already won over to his project; a vain and weak man; influential with the army, and not ill inclined towards the civil authorities, till the craft of Cromwell worked his vanity and revolt against them, and his very ambition into aid towards himself. For Ireton's office, which was voted to Lambert on the death of that virtuous soldier, having been subsequently deprived of its accompanying title of lord deputy (an omission rendered necessary by Cromwell's own intimation that he desired no longer to continue in his own person the rank of lord lieutenant†), Lambert's vanity

high-souled men, has been commonly attributed to the influence of Cromwell, who thus sought to remove a rival from his path. Perhaps it may, in one sense, have been so; for Widdrington and the lawyers, it will be recollected, had urged the claims of this youthful Henry Stuart to the throne, under a new settlement, as the only member of the royal family unspotted with the blood of Englishmen. Not the less, however, was the concession to such a request evidence of high generosity on the part of the then rulers of the state. And not the less, let me add, is it a proof how the greatest men are dwarfed by mean and unworthy designs, when we behold the powerful Cromwell, the veteran of a hundred victories, reduced to the wretched need of recognising a rival in a powerless lad of twelve years old!

* See the first volume of this memoir; APPENDIX E, CROMWELL AND CHRISTINA.

† The title of general-in-chief of all the forces there was substituted. The "lord-deputy," in consequence, became "lieutenant-general," merely. Ludlow thus adverts to the new appointment. After observing on Cromwell's reluctance to continue *him* in the military command of Ireland, in consequence of "the jealousy which general Cromwell had conceived of me, that I might prove an obstruction to the design he was carrying on, to advance himself by the ruin of the commonwealth," he adds, "and therefore, since major-general Lambert refused to go over with any character less than that of deputy, he resolved by any means to place lieutenant-general Fleetwood at the head of affairs in Ireland. By which conduct he procured two great advantages to himself; thereby putting the army in Ireland into

was easily moved to believe that an empty title omitted for the purpose of avoiding a practical absurdity, was omitted for the purpose of slighting *him*. He rejected the appointment in disgust.* More easily still was his ambition played with, since the lord general threw out obscure hints of the necessity that would arise of fixing some order of succession in case of any recasting of the supreme power: and who so fit to succeed the first

the hands of a person secured to his interest by the marriage of his daughter; and, drawing major-general Lambert into an enmity towards the parliament, prepared him to join with him in opposition to them, when he should find it convenient to put his design in execution."

* Mrs. Hutchinson, in her memoirs, gives the following account of this transaction, and of an incident of royalist report, which is mentioned in my next page. The account is only correct in the general impression it conveys. "After the death of Ireton," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "Lambert was voted deputy of Ireland, and commander-in-chief there, who being at that time in the north, was exceedingly elevated with the honour, and courted all Fairfax's old commanders, and other gentlemen, who, upon his promises of preferment, quitted their places, and many of them came to London and made him up there a very proud train, which still exalted him, so that too soon he put on the prince, immediately laying out 5000*l.* for his own particular equipage, and looking upon all the parliament men, who had conferred this honour upon him, as underlings, and scarce worth the great man's nod. This untimely declaration of his pride gave great offence to the parliament, who having only given him a commission for six months for his deputyship, made a vote that, after the expiration of that time, the presidency of the civil and military power of that nation should no more be in his nor any one man's hands again. *This vote was upon Cromwell's procurement*, who hereby designed to make way for his new son-in-law, Col. Fleetwood, who had married the widow of the late deputy Ireton. There went a story, that as my lady Ireton was walking in St. James's Park, the lady Lambert, as proud as her husband, came by where she was, and as the present princess always had precedence of the relict of the dead prince, so she put my lady Ireton below; who, notwithstanding her piety and humility, was a little grieved at the affront. Col. Fleetwood being then present, in mourning for his wife, who died at the same time her lord did, took occasion to introduce himself, and was immediately accepted by the lady and her father, who designed thus to restore his daughter to the honour she was fallen from. His plot took as himself could wish; for Lambert, who saw himself thus cut off from half his exaltation, sent the house an insolent message, "that if they found him so unworthy of the honour they had given him, as so soon to repent it, he would not retard their remedy for six months, but was ready to surrender their commission before he entered into his office." They took him at his word, and made Fleetwood commander-in-chief of the army, and the horse; whereupon Lambert, *in revenge*, retreated to his palace at Whitehall, and *in parliament*, *house, yet flattered with Lambert*, and having in his breast, helped to inflame Lambert against those of the parliament who were not his creatures, and to cast the odium of his disgrace upon them, and profess his own clearness in it, and pity of him, that should be drawn into such an inconvenience as the charge of putting himself into equipage, and the loss of all that provision; which Cromwell, pretending generosity, took all upon his own account, and delivered him of the debt."

man of the army, as he who was indisputably the second? *

The result of this intrigue was beneficial in another shape. Cromwell had designed the command in Ireland for an instrument of his own, Charles Fleetwood, to whom he at this time also induced his daughter Bridget, who had not yet put off her mourning for Ireton, to consent to give her hand. The royalist writers have a story about this marriage which may be worth mentioning, though it is refuted by the proofs already offered in this work of the high spirit and masculine good sense of Cromwell's eldest daughter. They say that Charles Fleetwood one day met Bridget Ireton in tears, and on inquiring the cause, found she was giving way to a fit of feminine spleen in consequence of having just before been forced to give way to the wife of Lambert, in St. James's Park. They were both at this instant in mourning, one for a wife, the other for a husband. An offer of the widower's hand was made and accepted on the spot, and the widow found herself speedily restored to precedence as the wife of the lieutenant-general of Ireland! The story is amusing, but not credible. The wife of Ireton might possibly have consented to sacrifice her affections to the state policy of her father, but she would not have betrayed a mind of superior virtue and character to the miserable satisfaction of her own wounded vanity.

But now the contest between the chiefs of the commonwealth and their too powerful servant, though in

* I may quote on this point a curious passage from the *Flagellum*:—"Major-general Lambert, nevertheless, did concur with him (Cromwell) in every particular, the whole design being secretly imparted to him, and he promised, as a reward for his assistance, the succession to the supreme power. This intimacy of Lambert was of a long standing, ever since Preston fight, and was cemented the faster by that complacency Oliver took in his wife, a woman of good birth and parts, and of pleasing attractions both for mind and body. The voice of the people was, that she was more familiar with him than the honour of her sex would allow, and that she had some extraordinary kindnesses for him which she had not for her husband; and that, being the medium of reciprocation of intelligence between them, she did communicate all her husband's designs, and conceal some of the others; though she needed not to have been so squeamish, or reserved, for one whose depths were never lathomed or discovered to any mortal, Ireton excepted."

full career towards its memorable and miserable close, received temporary check in two directions. On the one hand, dissention reared its head suddenly in the minds of Cromwell's military cabal ; whilst, on the other, the grand position assumed by the republican leaders in closing their war with the Dutch, seems to have suspended for a brief space, whether in prudence or in awe, even the sacrilegious purposes of Cromwell himself.

Both events are marked beyond a doubt in a royalist production of the time ; and they reflect considerations of the utmost importance and interest on the view of the last days of the English commonwealth, which is here sought to be impartially conveyed. The first, descriptive of the meetings and dissensions of the military cabal, is thus given. The writer, be it recollected, contemplating both parties in the struggle with equal hatred, may here lay claim to some of the best privileges of impartiality. " Every other day almost, more fasts, or some such religious exercise, was managed by Cromwell and Harrison, who promoted the proposals for a new representative, in order to the personal reign of Christ, and that therefore it was high time the government was placed in the hands of his saints, for all the glorious prophecies thereof were now ready to be fulfilled ; and this was cryed up as the doctrine of the times. Cromwell seemed to be of the same judgment, and of that millenary principle ; designing (as he said) nothing of those mutations of government which were agitating, but in tendency to that great revolution ; so that he had absolutely fooled Harrison into a confidence of his good intentions, and that he aimed not at his own greatness ; — and thereupon all the party Harrison could make, which was Feaks', Rogers', and Sympson's congregations, were impatient to have the parliament ousted, *and their fine module to take place*, wherein righteousness and holiness should be exalted in the kingdoms of the world. And now the Turk and the Pope were horribly threat-

•

ened, and Oliver looked upon as the great instrument that should confound Antichrist. But though most of the officers were thus bewitched and besotted, *yet a great many of them had just and strong suspicions* what his dissolution of the parliament would end in; and therefore secret consultations were held how to oppose these practices upon the parliament, *in whose authority conserved and secured, they were so wise as to think themselves safe* and defended from the after-claps of the rebellion. Among the rest, several officers of note came voluntarily out of Ireland (as some out of Scotland), who had by their general fasts perceived the drift of their general, *to withstand him, and publicly protest against the conduct of this business*, as directly tending to the overthrow and undoing all, for which so much blood had been spilt, and giving up the most glorious cause in the world to its vanquished enemies; — Noll's own argument. . . Of those that thus opposed him, colonel Venables, scout-master general Downing, and major Streater, were the most eminent; who to that purpose, as above said, came out of Ireland; but colonel Venables was soon wrought upon; and Mr. Downing offering to speak against it in the council of officers, and getting upon the table for better audience, was bid to come down by Cromwell, asking him what he did there? Only colonel Streater persisted in his resolution of giving reasons against it, and being flamm'd by Harrison with Christ's personal raigne, and that he was assured the lord general sought not himself, but that King Jesus might take the sceptre, — he presently replied that Christ must come before Christmas, or else he would come too late. For this opportune opposition, and ten queries then published by him in the army, he was afterwards committed to the Gate-house, and look'd upon by Cromwell as his mortal enemy."

On the other, and, to our present purpose, the more important matter of consideration adverted to, the royalist writer uses language even stronger and more significant. Having spoken of the last great effort of

the Dutch to recover the supremacy of the sea, he proceeds to characterise it as a grave stumbling-block to the designs of Cromwell. "It was a hazardous enterprise," he says, "to be fighting with two commonwealths together, and to which his confidence and resolution could not raise him, *without a surer interest in the people, who were to undergoe his tyranny.* This now reprieved the members from his decree of dissolution, while they had tried the fortune of war with the Dutch, and *had put things into such a posture and certainty, that no home alteration could discompose or disorder it*; the treasury for the support of the war, being now a filling, a naval force rigging and equipping, and the honour and glory of the nation engaged and concerned."*

It would be difficult to bear better testimony than this to a statesmanlike fitness for power in the men who at present held it, or to a gross falsehood in the pretence on which it was so soon to be wrested from them. And they fully justified these demands upon their last exertions. With unexampled capacity and energy they re-filled the drained exchequer, refitted their naval power, sent Blake to sea with the noblest squadron he had yet commanded, and finally shattered to pieces the last resources of the Dutch. Again, therefore, but for the last time now, had this great administrative genius averted mortal danger from the commonwealth. Men's homes were safe, the honour of the republic safe, and every enemy to England beaten back with ignominy to his own shore. "We never," said an illustrious agent in the work† as he proudly recalled the history of the despised Rump under Richard Cromwell's protectorate, "we never bid fairer to be masters of the whole world." From a highest point of elevation indeed, were they doomed to hasten to their setting; in its ripest season was the pear fated to be plucked by Cromwell; and (least merited of all!) the fame which history should surely have awarded, in some sort, to the

* Flagellum, by Heath.

† Thomas Scott. See *Life of Vane*, p. 342.

men beneath the light and warmth of whose genius it had attained so full a richness, she exclusively bestowed, without reserve or stint, on the successful usurper !

Very ominous warnings were thickening around him when he ventured his final move. In renovating the exchequer for the war, Vane had proposed a sale of the estate of Hampton Court, then held in trust by the great soldier *; and the first act of the same statesman, after Blake was fairly at sea, and while the contest was of course undecided, had been to procure a vote from the house, appointing the 3rd of November, 1653, instead of that of day in the year 1654, for the dissolution of parliament. What, indeed, were the exact views and prospects to which that true friend of freedom still clung in hope, even so late as this, may be gathered without much difficulty from what Roger Williams, a staunch republican, and his associate of early years in the government of New England (who was now staying at our English statesman's country residence in Lincolnshire), wrote to his transatlantic friends. "Here," he says, "is great thoughts and preparations for a new parliament. Some of our friends are apt to think a new parliament will favour us and our cause." Certain it was that the time had now arrived for Cromwell's usurpation, if it was to arrive ever. Each day that passed over the statesmen in their new and well-won safety from foreign attack, promised to be laden with events that must tend to establish far more decisively than ever their internal power.

It is very curious, and highly instructive, to note down exact dates at the various points in this famous struggle. For example, in the memorials of even the cautious and Cromwell-serving Whitelocke, we find that

* Ludlow thus "peaks of "two ways" by which Vane and his associates sought to "countermine" Cromwell. "First, by balancing his interest in the army with that of the fleet, procuring an order from the parliament, by reason of the importance of the war with the Dutch, to send some regiments of the army to strengthen the fleet; and, secondly, by recommending, as an easy way to raise money in that emergency, the sale of Hampton Court and other places, that were esteemed as baits to tempt some ambitious man to ascend the throne."—Vol. II. p. 451.

the same note which records the last great victory of Blake and the "parliament's forces at sea," contains also these significant allusions to Cromwell and his officers: "And they now began to assume to themselves all the honour of the past actions, and of the conquests by them achieved, scarce owning the parliament, and their assistance and provision for them; but taxing and censuring the members of parliament for injustice and delay of business, and for seeking to prolong their power, and promote their private interest, and satisfy their own ambition. With these and many others the like censures, they endeavoured to calumniate the parliament, and judge them guilty of those crimes whereof themselves were faulty; not looking into their own actions, nor perceiving their own defaults, yet censuring the actions and proceedings of the parliament very opprobriously." The opprobrium must have been sharp indeed, which startled even this considerate and compliant lawyer into so decided a sense of it. In the next record of his diary he thus proceeds: "The drift of Cromwell and his officers was to put an end to this parliament, which many wondered at, and sought to dissuade him from, upon all opportunities, *as far as was thought convenient*, and that they might not appear desirous to continue their own powers, and sitting in parliament, *whereof they had cause to be sufficiently weary*."

In this passage Whitelocke seems to me to describe, with sufficient accuracy, one of those great sources of danger to a political cause which seldom rise to the surface of history, but which evidently now beset with very formidable obstructions that strenuous and determined policy by which the statesmen struggled to maintain their ground. All great parties, since the world began, have had to complain of their too moderate or over sensitive men; men overstocked with delicacies; who are more apt to regulate their course by the derision of opponents than by the approval of conscience or of friend; who will shape hostility according to the convenience of the party to whom they are hostile; and who are, above all things,

fond to talk of being weary of the burden their own virtues, or their own party, may have imposed upon them. We now behold such, by the help of Whitelocke, among the members of the house who supported Vane; and can we doubt that that statesman, who would have thought it treason to his country to consult the convenience of her enemies, and have sunk lifeless in his place, before he indulged the luxury of being "weary" in her service, — can we doubt that he suffered, far more than by the worst difficulties, dangers, or toils of the cause, from the holiday sensibilities and delicate indifference of such gentlemen as these? It matters seldom that they happen to be few. The example goes forth to the great body of the people, who find it hard to discriminate, in such circumstances, between service and betrayal.

More treacherous enemies, at the same time, beset Vane and his party, even among the civil members of that house for whose independence they were now perilling all that makes life dear to man. Whitelocke describes them also, in the same passage of apparent self-reference already quoted. "Neither," he continues, as if to excuse the views of the moderate men, — "neither could it clearly be foreseen, that the design of Cromwell and his officers was to rout the present power, and so set up themselves; against the which they were advised, as pulling down the foundation of their own interest and power, and the way to weaken themselves, and to hazard both their cause and persons. Yet still they seemed zealous, upon their common pretensions of 'right,' and 'justice,' and 'public liberty,' to put a period to this parliament, and *that if the parliament would not shortly do it themselves, that then the soldiers must do it.* Some who earnestly declared their judgment against this, as 'the most dangerous and the most ungrateful thing that could be practised,' by this freedom gained no favour with Cromwell and his officers. But there wanted not some parliament men, perhaps to flatter with them, who soothed them in this unhandsome de-

sign, and were complotting with them to ruin themselves, as by the consequence will appear."

One of Cromwell's falsest pretences is shadowed forth in this extract — but it is a pretence which has unhappily passed into history, and claims therefore serious disproof. This, it may be here remarked, is the first time that the testimonies of living witnesses as to these memorable occurrences have been brought face to face ; and it is not an ungratifying circumstance to note what a perfect agreement there is as to all the main considerations they suggest, in the relations of men of such different parties, writing at such different times, and only alike in the fact of having themselves witnessed what they thus record. The result will show, among other things, that the only reasonable pretext by which history has attempted to justify the usurpation of Cromwell is based upon a falsehood.

The question of dissolution is stated by Whitelocke to have been urged by the soldiers as of "right," "justice," and "public liberty," and to have left a reasonable alternative to those friends of freedom who had not lost faith in that sacred thing. "You must put a period to this parliament," urge the soldiers. "If, however, you do not shortly do this yourselves, then the soldiers must do it." Now it is quite true that this tone was for a time adopted in the councils of Cromwell, but only for such a time as might render feasible a subsequent mean perversion of the truth to the English people. Ludlow states some singular facts on this head. While Cromwell, he says, was "making the most solemn professions of fidelity to the parliament, assuring them that, if they would command the army to break their swords over their heads, and to throw them into the sea, he would undertake they should do it — he privately engaged the officers of the army to draw up a petition to the parliament, that, for the satisfaction of the nation, they would put that vote which they had made for fixing a period to their sitting into an act ; which, whilst the officers were forming and debating, *the general having, it seems,*

for that time altered his counsels, sent colonel Desborough, one of his instruments, to the council of officers, who told them, that they were a sort of men whom nothing could satisfy — that the parliament were more ready to do any good than they to desire it — that they ought to rely upon their word and promise to dissolve themselves by the time prefixed — and that to petition them to put their vote into an act would manifest a diffidence of them, and lessen their authority, which was so necessary to the army. The general coming into the council whilst Desborough was speaking, seconded him; to which some of the officers took the liberty to reply that they had the same opinion of the parliament and petition with them, and that the chief argument that moved them to take this matter into consideration, was the intimation they had received, that *it was according to the desires of those who had now spoken against it*, and whose latter motion they were much more ready to comply with than their former.”

Quite true it was that it had once been, for good reasons, according to the desires of those who now, for better reasons, spoke against it. In such curious details we behold each fluctuation of the struggle; for at this moment, the very crisis of all, Vane had baffled Cromwell upon his own ground, and with his own weapons; and it was nothing more nor less than a sudden discovery of that circumstance which “altered the counsels of the general.” Ludlow describes what Vane had done in a general remark on the sudden change in the policy of the parliament. “Now perceiving to what kind of excesses the madness of the army was like to carry them, the parliament resolved to leave *as a legacy to the people* the government of a commonwealth *by their representatives, when assembled in parliament*, and in the intervals thereof by a council of state chosen by them, and to continue till the meeting of the next succeeding parliament, *to whom they were to give an account of their conduct and management*. To this end they resolved, *without any further delay, to pass the act for their own*

dissolution." Vane had within the last few days, in fact, by his own individual and almost unaided exertions, hastened to its latter stages the memorable bill for a "new representative." Thus, as the sharp crisis approached, there appeared even an activity and energy that could cope with Cromwell's own. Silently but resolutely Vane had achieved the major part of the amendments recommended in his own report *, and little now remained save the final sanction of the house to give to the measure the force of law. Cromwell then, for the first time, while in absolute triumphal progress on the strongest position of the war he had engaged in, looked up and saw it in firm possession of the enemy.

The aspect of the contest between the parliament and their general changes from this instant. It loses, on the side of Cromwell, every element, or even pretence, of fairness. It at once became evident that the musket could arbitrate it only, and even Cromwell's most plausible craft was unmasked suddenly into a bare image of tyranny and force. Up to this point he had a certain hollow case to rest upon with the people, and was at least going forward to his aim with a stealthier step and the help of a less startling falsehood. The very circumstances which had justified to the statesmen even their share in the existence of that popular discontent now spread in various directions, and which clamoured in its less scrupulous quarters of the "despotism" of many, would have served to justify, in some sort also, Cromwell's subtle measures for the substitution of a despotism of one. All that was now at an end. Truth took its stand on one side, falsehood fronted it on the other, and the most momentous interests of humanity, present and future, trembled in the impending issue. Religion and liberty, the right of action and of thought, honours won upon earth, deliverances vouchsafed from heaven — all that had rendered the English people a praise and wonder to the earth during their contest with their king — were now committed in this struggle for the existence of

* See Life of Vane, p. 151--162.

representation in our country. The example of the rulers of England had, during all that time, been the life of virtue in her people. It was by the Eliots, the Pymys, the Hampdens, and the Vanes, that an enlightening influence, as from heaven itself, had pierced into the humblest and remotest corners of the land. To blight this as suddenly as it had risen, and to promote a second growth of ignorance and of slavery, only less bad because less enduring than the first, it was simply necessary to exhibit once more in the high places of England that very oppression, coercion, and arbitrary rule, from which she had been freed so lately. And this was the miserable work which Cromwell had now in hand, and for which he was content to peril greater and purer fame than had fallen within the grasp of Englishman before him.

The first thing to be noted in the closing scenes of the struggle, so far as we are able to penetrate the obscurity which unhappily has veiled them too long, is the fierce contempt exhibited by Cromwell for the popular pretences on which he rested first. As soon as he saw that Vane had resolved to test them, he flung them scornfully to the wind. In the life of Henry Nevile, for example, a virtuous and exemplary man, a scene of this exact time is given as from Nevile's lips. "Cromwell upon this great occasion sent for some of the chief city divines, as if he made it a matter of conscience to be determined by their advice. Among these was the leading Mr. Calamy, who very boldly opposed Mr. Cromwell's project, and offered to prove it both unlawful and impracticable. Cromwell answered readily upon the first head of unlawful, and appealed to the safety of the nation being the supreme law. 'But,' says he, 'pray Mr. Calamy, why impracticable?' Calamy replied, 'Oh! 't is against the voice of the nation, there will be nine in ten against you.' 'Very well,' says Cromwell, 'but what if I should disarm the nine, and put a sword into the tenth man's hand, would not that do the busi-

ness?"* The next scene, with the same moral, took place on a different theatre with actors somewhat different, and is told by an anti-republican of uncompromising fierceness. "The next scene of this applauded comedy," he writes, so characterising a tragedy fraught with the lives of thousands of living men, and with the liberties of unborn millions, "was laid at the cock-pit by Whitehall, where Cromwell, concealing the number of the beast in his apocalypse, declared to his council of officers 'that if they should trust the people in an election of a new parliament according to the old constitution, it would be a tempting of God; and that his confidence was, that God did intend to save and deliver this nation by few, as he had done in former times; and that five or six men, and some few more, setting themselves to the work, might do more in one day than the parliament had or would do in a hundred, as far as he could perceive; and that such unbiassed men were like to be the only instruments of the people's happiness.'"

Not succeeding with this proposal, it is to be presumed, to the extent of his desire, we find it somewhat enlarged and modified in the next council held; for the chosen few, who were to be heaven-selected for supreme power, are there suddenly extended to the significant number of forty. This was the revival of a project which had occupied the mind of Cromwell previously.† Its plain object was to pave as smooth a way to tyranny as possible, by first removing every existing legislative and executive body that had the appearance of being founded upon English institutions, or in any way based on English customs. To that end the design was admirably shaped. The parliament having been dissolved, the sovereign power of government was to be placed for a time in commission, consisting of forty persons, chosen from the defunct house of commons, the council of state, and the army. The mere proposed constitution of this body exhibits the kind of difficulties that Crom-

* Life of Henry Nevile, p. 35.

† See Life of Vane p. 150.

well had to encounter in every stage of these extraordinary intrigues ; and is in itself an implied refutation of the historical slander which treats the whole body of statesmen, the council of the commonwealth, and the poor rump of their once great house, with measureless scorn. Supposing the proposition sincere or insincere, which would have composed out of these various elements the new Council of Forty for England, it carries with it, not the less, an undoubted concession to the claims of the subsisting government, for no little consideration at even the hands of those who had thus resolved its downfall. The people were obviously to be induced to believe, that members of that famous house which had conducted the contest to its successful close were still to govern them—that power was yet to remain with at least the heads of that great body which, as council of the state, had established the commonwealth in the respect of surrounding nations. Cromwell was at the same time quite safe in making such a project the basis of his tyranny. It was a sop for all parties, and a satisfaction for none. The Harrisons and Okeys, who looked for a reign of saints, saw, in near prospect already, the mystic number of those sacred rulers;—the Streeters, Lamberts, and Salways, viewed with much complacency themselves in power, and their own peculiar crotchets in advanced realisation ;—the moderate and indifferent men, the waiters upon Providence and upon Cromwell, were content with it, as they would have been contented with any thing that promised them as much ease, with as little responsibility ;—and the only prominent dissenter or objector would seem to have been Whitelocke himself, who, in his secret and subtle love for all that was old, venerable, or like law, saw little good in forty, and much virtue in one. But Cromwell could have eased his mind on that score, with an exercise of little candour. Secretly laughing down these various hopes, he stood triumphant in the security of his own. His creatures, he knew, or creatures he could mould into his, should pack that convenient council—

and for the result, what would be easier or more natural than a "manifestation of Providence?"

The grand preliminary difficulty was the mode in which the first step was to be achieved—the dissolution of the parliament. A section of the officers, backed by a section of the lawyers, argued that this should be the voluntary act of the house itself; but Vane had baffled this, so far as it could have tended to serve the views of Cromwell, by provisions* with which he had accompanied the act of dissolution, securing to the people a new and enlarged system of representation, and enlisting on the side of liberal and popular government, their best sympathies, and most enduring affections. The other and larger section of negotiators, or conspirators (for here there can be little choice between the words), were in favour of a compulsory dissolution, but never seem to have contemplated the extreme of that desperate course which was already working darkly in Cromwell's mind. As yet, darkly—but never, through his whole career, had the mind of that extraordinary person appeared wrapt in what looked like a helpless or chaotic confusion, that there did not lie coiled and hidden beneath it, more energy and quick-sighted resolve, more rigid and straightforward determination, a purpose more sharply shaped, and readier to start into instant life and action, than have ever yet shone forth in guise the most nimble, or with an address the most accomplished. And what he now gazed at, in that internal mind of his, calmly and resolvedly—involving, as it did, not only an act without precedent in nations. but the very existence of rights, thereafter to be sports for children, which had once been watchwords of the greatest fight for liberty yet fought in the world—he at the same time as coolly designed to prepare in some sort the minds of the common people for, by the use of his favourite engine of fanaticism. The suddenness

* See Life of Vane, p. 158—162.

of the shock to be apprehended in some would thus at least be broken.

Ludlow is the evidence on this point. At this time, he says, "divers of the clergy, from their pulpits, began to prophesy the destruction of the parliament, and to propose it openly as a thing desirable: insomuch that the general, who had all along concurred with this spirit in them, hypocritically complained to quarter-master-general Vernon, *'that he was pushed on by two parties to do that, the consideration of the issue whereof made his hair to stand on end. One of these,'* said he, *'is headed by major-general Lambert, who, in revenge of that injury the parliament did him, in not permitting him to go into Ireland with a character and conditions suitable to his merit, will be contented with nothing less than their dissolution. Of the other, major-general Harrison is the chief, who is an honest man, and aims at good things, yet from the impatience of his spirit will not wait the Lord's leisure, but hurries me on to that which he and all honest men will have cause to repent.'*"

The final scene in this extraordinary and most memorable series of intrigues against liberty, carried on by men who had fought for the fame of her best and bravest champions, now draws nigh. On the 19th of April, 1653, the traitorous council, framed by Cromwell, held their famous and last meeting. About twenty members of parliament are said to have been present, of the character already attributed to these gentlemen "negotiators." The proposition offered by Cromwell's creatures has been already described, and will further appear in a celebrated note taken at the time by Whitelocke (who was present), of the occurrences of the meeting.

"Yesterday," says the lord commissioner, writing on the fatal 20th of April, "there having been a great meeting at Cromwell's lodgings in Whitehall, of parliament men, and several officers of the army, sent to by Cromwell to be there, and a large discourse and debate

having been amongst them, touching some expedient to be found out for the present carrying on of the government of the commonwealth, and putting a period to this present parliament: it was offered by divers as a most dangerous thing to dissolve the present parliament, and to set up any other government, and that it would neither be warrantable in conscience, or wisdom so to do; yet none of them expressed themselves so freely to that purpose as sir Thomas Widdrington and Whitelocke then did. Of the other opinion, as to putting an end forthwith to this parliament, St. John was one of the chief, and many more with him; and generally all the officers of the army, who stuck close in this likewise to their general. And the better to make way for themselves, and their ambitious design of advancing them to the civil government as well as they were in the military power, — they and their party declared their opinions, ‘that it was necessary the same should be done one way or other, and the members of parliament not permitted to prolong their own power.’ At which expression, Cromwell seemed to reprove some of them; and this conference lasted till late at night, when Widdrington and Whitelocke went home weary, and troubled to see the indiscretion and ingratitude of those men, and the way they designed to ruin themselves.”

The reader will have an opportunity of contrasting this account with that which Cromwell subsequently gave of the same transaction, and in the course of which he grounded a complaint of insincerity against Whitelocke and his friends, on the alleged circumstance of their having left the meeting on this famous night with an express understanding that the leaders of the house of commons would suspend all further proceedings on the act for dissolution and a new representative, till the result of the conference of next day. But if Whitelocke gave such a pledge, which his entire silence on that head renders at least doubtful, he did so without authority, and in the absence of any means of redeem-

ing it. The course which Vane held at present had been deliberately chosen by that determined man, and it would have demanded a more than human power to induce him, for any consideration left upon the earth, to peril by another hour's delay the popular claim to popular rights delayed already to the endangerment of liberty. The whole of the 19th of April, so spent, as we have seen, at Whitehall, in consultation between the lawyers, temporisers, and traitors*, was passed by Vane at Westminster, in resolute amendment of the details of the bill which was at once to close the existence of the greatest parliament that had ever sat within the walls of the old chapel of St. Stephens, and to call into life throughout England the greatest amount of representative freedom that had yet been enjoyed by her people. And never surely did sun arise on a loftier or more honourable strength of purpose in the breast of any man, than that which, early on the morning of the 20th of April, sustained sir Henry Vane, as he passed into the house of commons to strike his last blow for the sacred cause to which, from earliest youth, and in resistance to all temptations, his life had been devoted with a touching constancy. The same hour of the same ever-memorable morning saw Whitelocke and his friends on their way to Cromwell's house.

Therefore, proceeds the memorialist, in continuation of the passage already quoted, "these came early again this morning, according to appointment, to Cromwell's lodging, where there were but few parliament men, and a few officers of the army. A point was again stirred, which had been debated the last night, 'whether forty persons, or about that number of parliament men and officers of the army, should be nominated by the par-

* The only sincere (however wrong-headed) republican, of whose attendance at these councils I can find any evidence, is sir Arthur Hazelrig. That he did so, is clear from a manuscript report of a speech delivered by him in Richard Cromwell's parliament. "I heard, being seventy miles off, that it was propounded that we should dissolve our trust, and devolve it into a few hands. I came up and found it so; that it was resolved in a j unto at the cock-pit. I trembled at it, and was, after, there, and bore my testimony against it. I told them the work they went about was accursed. I told them it was impossible to devolve this trust."

liament, and empowered for the managing the affairs of the commonwealth, till a new parliament should meet, and so the present parliament to be forthwith dissolved.' Whitelocke was against this proposal, and the more, fearing lest he might be one of these forty; who, he thought, would be in a desperate condition after the parliament should be dissolved; but others were very ambitious to be of this number and council, and to be invested with this exorbitant power in them. Cromwell being informed during this debate that the parliament was sitting, and that it was hoped they would put a period to themselves, which would be the most honourable dissolution for them; hereupon he broke off the meeting, and the members of the parliament left him at his lodging and went to the house."

Vane, Marten, Algernon Sidney, and others of the chief men, had been there some time, and had succeeded in forcing to its final stage the act for the new representative. Some of Cromwell's creatures had also shown themselves early in their places, with a view to watch the proceedings for him, and to interpose the forms of the house, if necessary, for the purpose of giving time and room to his designs. Thus, when Vane rose to urge the necessity of passing the bill into a law at once, one of these convenient gentlemen was dispatched, as we have seen, to interrupt the debate at Cromwell's lodgings; while another, no less than major-general Harrison himself, rose with the dignified purpose of talking against time, and "most sweetly and humbly" conjured the members assembled to pause before they took so important a step as that which Vane recommended. The warmth and earnestness of Vane's reply were the signal for a second messenger to Cromwell, and Ingoldsby was observed to leave the house in some haste and excitement.

The Cromwell section of officers were still in consultation with Cromwell himself at the lodging of the lord general. The first news of the morning had "broken off" what might be called the negotiatory part of the

meeting ; but the military cabal had resumed their private councils, when Ingoldsby's sudden appearance in the room, with the excitement upon him of the great scene he had left, again interrupted their discussions. " If you mean to do any thing decisive," he exclaimed to Cromwell, " you have no time to lose." Cromwell rose hastily, commanded a party of soldiers to be marched round to the house of commons, and left the room without another word. Lambert and " five or six" of the more determined officers followed him. The rest remained sitting where they were, in wonder, uncertainty, and dread.

Cromwell made no pause till he stood before the door of the house of commons. Here he planted a body of soldiers, stationed another in the lobby, and led round some files of musketeers to a position without the chamber where the members were seated. His manner, at this momentous instant, was observed to be calm, and his very dress was noted for its peaceful contrast to his purposes. Vane had again risen, and was speaking on the dissolution-bill, in a passionate strain, when he quietly appeared at the door, " clad in plain black clothes, with grey worsted stockings *," quite unattended and alone. About a hundred members were at this time present.† He stood for a moment on the spot at which he entered, and then " sat down as he used to do in an ordinary place." Here he was instantly joined by his kinsman Saint John, to whom he said, with inexpressible humility of manner, that " he was come to do that which grieved him to the very soul, and that he had earnestly with tears prayed to God against. Nay, that he had rather be torn in pieces than do it ; but there was a *necessity* laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation." Saint John answered, that " he knew not what he meant ; but did pray, that what it was which must be done, might have a happy issue for the general good." With this, that crafty lawyer went back to his own seat, to wait the issue of all

* Lord Leicester's Journal, p. 139.

† Ludlow, vol. II. p. 435.

those dark intrigues in which he had himself played so prominent a part.

Vane still held on unflinchingly to his great purpose. He urged, with increased earnestness, the necessity of proceeding at once to the last stage of the bill, and with that view adjured them to dispense with even the ceremony of engrossing, and other immaterial forms. Cromwell, at this, beckoned Harrison. "Now is the time," he said to that enthusiast, "I must do it!" Harrison's answer would imply that he knew the meditated outrage*, but felt the force of the eloquence of Vane. "The work, sir," he said, after advising him to consider, "is very great and dangerous." "You say well," hastily retorted Cromwell, and "sat still for another quarter of an hour." It would then seem that Vane had succeeded in his purpose, for the speaker had actually risen to put the question†, when Cromwell started up, "put off his hat," and began to speak. "At first," lord Leicester tells us, "and for a good while, he spoke in commendation of the parliament, for their pains and care of the public good; but afterwards he changed his style; told them of their injustice, delays of justice, self-interest, and other faults;" charging them, according to Ludlow, with "not having a heart to do any thing for the public good," and accusing them "of an intention to perpetuate themselves in power, had they not been forced to the passing of this act, which he affirmed they designed never to observe." But, he added, with a violent and harsh abruptness, "Your time is come! The Lord has done with you! He has

* It was believed, at the time, that sir Gilbert Pickering, and some few other members (out of those that had attended the Whitehall councils), were also acquainted with what Cromwell purposed. It is certain, according to the author of the Flagellum, that sir Gilbert was privy to it; since "he had held consultation the night before with him, and was up armed in his chamber till the very time."

† Ludlow, lord Leicester (who received his information from Algernon Sidney), and sir Arthur Haselrig (who was present), agree on this point. "We were labouring here in the house," says Haselrig, in that speech in Richard Cromwell's parliament to which I have already adverted, "on an act to put an end to that parliament, and to call another. I desired the passing of it with all my soul. *The question was putting for it*, when our general stood up and *stopped the question*, and called in his lieutenant, with two files of musketeers, with their hats on their heads and their guns loaded with bullets."

chosen other instruments for the carrying on His work, that are more worthy." All this seemed nothing less than inspiration to his fanatical followers. They marked the extraordinary changes in his voice and manner as new births of Providence within him, and exclaimed that it was the Lord had taken him by the hand, and set him on to do that thing. Plainer men saw the tyrant only, the slave within the grasp of tyrannous ambition. "He spoke," says Ludlow, "with so much passion and discomposure of mind, as if he had been distracted."

Meanwhile Vane had risen, Wentworth and Marten too, "but he would suffer none to speak but himself.*"

At the same time, as if himself astonished at the unprecedented part he was playing, he cried out to those who had risen, "You think, perhaps, that this is not parliamentary language; I know it." In spite of all resistance, however, the voice of sir Peter Wentworth, who stood up by the side of Vane, forced itself at last upon the house. He declared, that this was indeed "the first time that he had ever heard such unbecoming language given to the parliament, and that it was the more horrid, in that it came from their servant, and their servant whom they had so highly trusted and obliged, and whom, by their unprecedented bounty, they had made what he was."† Whether these words really transported Cromwell, on the instant, beyond the bounds of even his self-command, or merely rendered necessary a further display of what his deluded followers might take to be genuine inspiration, the reader will best judge from what actually followed, as an honest eye-witness has delivered it to us.

Cromwell instantly thrust his hat down upon his head, sprang from his seat into the centre of the floor of the house, and shouted out, "Come, come, I'll put an end to your prating." Then, adds lord Leicester, on the relation of Algernon Sidney, "he walked up and down

* Whitelocke, p. 529.

† Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 456; and see Lingard's History, vol. ii. p. 171.

the stage or floor in the midst of the house, with his hat on his head, and chid the members soundly, looking sometimes, and pointing particularly, upon some persons, as sir B. Whitelocke, one of the commissioners for the great seal, and sir Henry Vane, to whom he gave very sharp language, *though he named them not*, but by his gestures it was well known he meant them." But even while he raved and chafed in this desperate fashion, ("walking up and down," Ludlow tells us, "like a madman, and kicking the ground with his feet,") Vane succeeded in making himself heard once more. At this Cromwell stopped and called Vane by his name. "You," he said, "might have prevented this extraordinary course; but you are a juggler, and have not so much as common honesty." * "I have been forced to this," he continued. "I have sought the Lord, night and day, that he would rather slay me, than put me upon the doing of this work. But now begone. You are no parliament. I say, you are no parliament! I'll put an end to your sitting. Begone! Give way to honester men." † Stamping his foot, as he spoke thus, very heavily on the floor, the door was flung open suddenly, and he stood in the midst of "five or six files of musketeers," with their arms ready!

In that moment perished, for a time, the rights in whose name twelve years of the miseries of civil war had been unrepiningly encountered, — "making vain and viler than dirt the blood of so many faithful and valiant Englishman, who had left their countrymen in this liberty of parliament, bought with their lives." It is needless to say that resistance, to any successful end, was idle; yet not without such resistance as might serve to enter their immortal protest with posterity did these lion-hearted republicans leave the scene (now degraded and profaned) of their yet glorious and undying triumphs. "Then the general," pursues lord Leicester, "pointing to the speaker in his chair, said to

* Leicester's Journal, p. 141.

† Perfect Politician, p. 169.

Harrison, 'Fetch him down.' Harrison went to the speaker, and spoke to him to come down; but the speaker sate still, and sayd nothing. 'Take him down,' said the general; then Harrison went and pulled the speaker * by the gown, and he came down. It happened that day that Algernon Sidney sate next to the speaker on the right hand. The general said to Harrison, 'Put him out;' Harrison spake to Sidney to go out; but he sayd he would not go out, and sate still. The general said again, 'Put him out.' Then Harrison and Worsley (who commanded the general's own regiment of foot) putt their hands upon Sidney's shoulders, as if they would force him to go out. Then he rose and went towards the doore. Then the general went to the table where the mace lay, which used to be carried before the speaker, and said, 'Take away these baubles;' so the soldiers took away the mace."

While this extraordinary scene of violence proceeded thus, the majority of the members had gradually withdrawn; and now, as the more eminent men, who had waited to the last, moved slowly towards the door, through files of musketeers drawn up on either side, they received to the last, in passionate insults from Cromwell, the tribute which their defence of the commonwealth had well merited from the lips of its destroyer. Nicknames were flung in the face of each. Challoner was pointed to as a drunkard†; sir Peter

* Lenthall was by no means a man of gallantry or heroism. On many occasions, indeed, he showed himself deficient in the most ordinary spirit; but there were two incidents in his life, when the very extent of the outrage committed on the authority with which he was invested seems to have positively lifted him far above the strain of common men. These incidents were Charles's attempted arrest of the five members, and Cromwell's present and greater crime. Sir Arthur Haselrig corroborates the account of the text in his speech already quoted. "The speaker," he said, "a stout man, was not willing to go. He was so noble, that he frowned, and said he would not go out of the chair till he was plucked out, which was quickly done, without much compliment, by two soldiers." Ludlow also tells us, that when Harrison went up to move the speaker from his chair, Lenthall at once told him, "that he would not come down unless he were forced. 'Sir,' said Harrison, 'I will lend you my hand;' and thereupon, putting his hand within his, the speaker came down." One matter of consideration should, however, not be omitted. Lenthall had good reason to expect being brought to a severe account, if he had not shown resistance thus.

† Drysdale, p. 405.

Wentworth was accused of adultery ; alderman Allen of public embezzlements ; even poor Whitelocke of gross injustice ; and as the lord general's old friend Harry Marten passed, he was asked if a whoremaster was fit to sit and govern.* Among the latest of all came Vane ; and as he came, he once again protested " in a loud voice " against the fatal scene which had been acted. " This is not honest," he said. " Yea — it is against morality and common honesty." At that instant, it is possible Cromwell felt some shame. He paused, as though to rally himself with the recollection of some personal or private vice he might fling against his great rival, but when he spoke, his harsh voice had a troubled tone, and he merely uttered the few words that have become so memorable, " Sir Harry Vane, sir Harry Vane — *the Lord deliver me from sir Harry Vane !*" No vice would stick, even as a lie, against the virtue and simplicity of the most spotless statesman in our annals. Vane passed on, and no nickname followed him.

Cromwell was now virtually lord of England, and stood with a heavier and more daring foot upon her neck than had ever been placed there by any of her kings. " He seized," says Ludlow, " on the records that were in the house, and at Mr. Scobell's † ; after which he went to the clerk, and snatching the act of dissolution, which was ready to pass, out of his hand, he put it under his cloak, and having commanded the doors to be locked up, went away to Whitehall." ‡

* Perfect Politician, p. 168

† At that time clerk of the house.

‡ Unable to omit this remarkable scene in a memoir of Cromwell, I have endeavoured to justify its repetition (in transgression of a rule which has been strictly observed in this series of biographies) by certain new elements of character and interest that have occurred to me since the notice of Vane was written. A curious circumstance may be added, illustrative of the stern and undying spirit of the leaders of this famous long parliament. Treating Cromwell's act of violence as though it had never disgraced our annals, that parliament, entitled, if any ever was, to boast itself indestructible, resuscitated itself, as the reader knows, on the death of Cromwell ; and, in looking over the journals of the 7th of January, 1659, I find this characteristic passage : " Whereas this house do find an entry in the Journal Book of the 20th of April, 1653, in these words, '*This day his excellency the lord general dissolved this parliament ;*' which was done without consent of

The officers he had left were still sitting together when Cromwell reappeared, flushed and excited as they had always seen him after victory, and, flinging on the table before them the key of the house of commons (the "bauble" had been tossed into the outer room), told them all that he had done. "When I went there," he added, "I did not think to have done this. But, perceiving the spirit of God so strong upon me, I would not consult flesh and blood." Yet even in that cabal there were found some voices to question the justice of an act, no matter by what pretence defended, of unparalleled and awful outrage. Colonel Okey and others, it would seem, spoke out in condemnation of it, "conceiving that the way they were now going tended to ruin and confusion. To these, having not yet taken off his mask, but pretending to more honesty and self-denial than ever, he professed himself resolved to do much more good, and with more expedition, than could be expected from the parliament; which professions from him put most of them to silence, and moved them to a resolution of waiting for a further discovery of his design, before they would proceed to a breach and division from him. But colonel Okey, being jealous that the end would be bad, because the means were such as made them justly suspected of hypocrisy, inquired of colonel Desborough what his meaning was, to give such high commendations to the parliament when he endeavoured to dissuade the officers of the army from petitioning them for a dissolution, and so short a time after to eject them with so much scorn and contempt;—who

parliament; which this house doth accordingly declare to be a forgery, and do order Mr. Scobell to be sent for to the bar to answer it.' From other minutes in the same journal, I find further that Mr. Scobell appeared before the house duly to answer this offence, and that the obnoxious entry having been shown him, he was asked who made it. He acknowledged upon this that it was his own handwriting, and that he did it without the direction of any person whatever. The house immediately ordered the entry to be expunged out of the journals, and referred it to a committee to consider "whether the then late act of indemnity extended to pardon that offence, and report their opinion of it to the house." I find nothing more of it, however; matters of greater moment had meanwhile occurred for consideration!

had no other answer to make, but that *if ever he drolled in his life, he had drolled then.*" * It is a pity that, in proportion as these republican officers admitted glimmerings of conscience or fair intention into their plans, they seem to have lost altogether what could alone effectually serve them in the peculiar policy they favoured, — their craft and cunning. It is wonderful to contemplate the simplicity they exhibit; amusing it might be, no less, were it not for the serious mischief it inflicted on our country.

A far different scene, however, from that which he encountered at the military cabal, awaited Cromwell at the council of state. In the afternoon of this still eventful day, the triumphant usurper, attended by Lambert and Harrison, entered the chamber of the council. The famous Bradshaw had that morning taken his seat on his fresh election to the presidency, and it thus fitly devolved upon him, from whose lips had issued the sentence which doomed a legitimate king to death for crimes committed against the people, to rebuke a traitorous usurper upon the threshold of his ill-gotten power. Cromwell broke the silence which followed his sudden appearance in the chamber. "Gentlemen," he said, "if you are met here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed; but if as a council of state, this is no place for you; and, since you can't but know what was done at the house in the morning, so take notice, that the parliament is dissolved." To this Bradshaw rose and at once replied. "Sir, we *have* heard what you did at the house in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it. But, sir, you are mistaken, to think that the parliament is dissolved, for no

* Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 460. The memorialist (who then held command in Ireland) adds, "We who were in Ireland, *being not so well informed of these clandestine practices*, and no less confident that the principles of some men who joined in this attempt were directed to the good of the nation; and that though some might be such arrant knaves as to have other designs, yet trusting that an impossibility of accomplishing the same would oblige them to fall in with the public interest, and not to be so very foolish to attempt the setting up for themselves; though we could not but have some doubts of the ill consequences of these things, yet thought ourselves by the rules of charity obliged to hope the best, and therefore continued to act in our places and stations as before."

power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves. 'Therefore, take you notice of that.' With these words fell the commonwealth of England, leaving behind it a memory which is immortal, and results that are destined to live and bear fruit for ever. Each member present in council at once rose and withdrew; Scot, Haselrig, and Love, briefly and emphatically repeating, as they went, the solemn protest of Bradshaw.* Cromwell made no reply.

At the early dawn of the 21st of April, a large placard was seen pasted on the door of the house of commons—" *This house to be let, unfurnished,*"—the work of some royalist wit of the preceding night, after orgies which had no doubt worthily celebrated the downfall of the only sufficient or lasting barrier between England and the Stuarts.† On the morning of the same day a sort of government gazette was issued from Whitehall, to the following effect:—"The lord general delivered yesterday in parliament *divers reasons wherefore a present period should be put to the sitting of this parliament*; and it was accordingly done; the speaker and the members all departing. The grounds of which proceedings will (*'tis probable*) be shortly made public." In speedy redemption of this pledge, a declaration of the "grounds and reasons for dissolving the parliament," in the name of the lord general and his council of officers, came forth, in English and French, on the 22d of April.

It is due to candour and to truth, wherein will be always found a solid vindication of the commonwealth against its betrayer, to give the essential part of this declaration, and of what other defence Cromwell may have sought to place on record, in the dread of a verdict by posterity against his action of the 20th of April. To bring such a document as this declaration, for example, to the light of the truth which is here attempted to be

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 451.

† For the rejoicings of Charles Stuart himself, see Evelyn's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 15. Also the closing article in the Appendix to the last volume of this work.

cast, for the first time, into every corner of these strange transactions, is to unravel at once its cunning and false pretences. And much more than this will necessarily receive illustration from any careful endeavour to show in detail, what various influences were in action at that time upon the people; what miserable self-delusions or wretched vanities held spell-bound even Cromwell's agents in his tyrannous work; and for what considerations of dignity, prudence, or superior and unselfish care for the general safety, the baffled and slandered statesmen were content to "hide their time."

The declaration opens with a well-devised allusion to the grounds which had first moved the undersigned officers to take up arms, and engage their lives and all that was dear to them in the cause; to the various and signal dispensations through which Divine Providence had led them; and to the witness the Lord Himself had borne to their unwearied efforts. They have been necessitated, they then with apparent frankness state, "for the defence of the same cause they first asserted, to have recourse unto *extraordinary actions*,"—which they thus proceed to describe and defend.

"After it had pleased God, not only to reduce Ireland, and give in Scotland, but so marvellously to appear for his people at Worcester, that these nations were reduced to a great degree of peace, and England to perfect quiet; and thereby the parliament had opportunity to give the people the harvest of their labour, blood, and treasure, and to settle a due liberty both in reference to civil and spiritual things, whereunto they were obliged by their duty, their engagements, as also the great and wonderful things which God had wrought for them;—it was a matter of much grief to the good and well-affected of the land, to observe the little progress which was made therein; who thereupon applied to the army, expecting redress by their means; notwithstanding which, the army, being unwilling to meddle with the civil authority in matters so properly appertaining to it, it was agreed that his excellency,

and officers of the army which were members of parliament, should be desired to move the parliament to proceed vigorously in performing what was amiss in government, and to the settling of the commonwealth *upon a foundation of justice and righteousness* ; which having done, we hoped that the parliament would seasonably have answered our expectation. But finding (to our grief) delays therein, we renewed our desires in an humble petition to them, which was presented in August last ; and although they at that time, signifying their good acceptance thereof, returned us thanks, and referred the particulars thereof to a committee of the house, yet no considerable effect was produced, nor any such progress made as might imply their real intentions to accomplish what was petitioned for. But, on the contrary, there more and more appeared amongst them, *an aversion to the things themselves, with much bitterness and opposition to the people of God, and his Spirit acting in them* : which grew so prevalent, that *those persons of honour and integrity amongst them, who had eminently appeared for God and the publick good, both before and throughout this war, were rendered of no further use in parliament, than, by meeting with a corrupt party, to give them countenance to carry on their ends, and for effecting the desire they had of perpetuating themselves in the supreme government.* For which purpose the said party long opposed, and frequently declared themselves against having, a new representative ; and when they saw themselves necessitated to take that bill into consideration, *they resolved to make use of it to recruit the house with persons of the same spirit and temper, thereby to perpetuate their own sitting, which intention divers of the activest amongst them did manifest, labouring to persuade others to a consent therein.* And the better to effect this, *divers petitions, preparing from several counties for the continuance of this parliament, were encouraged, if not set on foot, by many of them.*

“ For obviating of these evils, the officers of the army

obtained several meetings with some of the parliament, to consider what fitting means and remedy might be applied to prevent the same. But such endeavours proving altogether ineffectual, it became most evident to the army, *as they doubt not it also is to all considering persons*, that this parliament, through the corruption of some, the jealousy of others, the non-attendance and negligence of many, *would never answer those ends which God, his people, and the whole nation, expected from them*; but that this cause, which the Lord hath so greatly blessed, and bore witness to, should languish under their hands, and by degrees, be wholly lost; and the lives, liberties, and comforts of his people delivered into their enemies' hands.

‘All which being sadly and seriously considered by the honest people of this nation, as well as by the army, and wisdom and direction being sought from the Lord, it seemed to be a duty incumbent upon us, who had seen so much of the power and presence of God going along with us, to consider of some more effectual means to secure the cause, which the good people of this commonwealth had been so long engaged in, and to establish righteousness and peace in these nations.

‘After much debate it was judged necessary, and agreed upon, that the supreme authority should be by the parliament devolved upon known persons; men fearing God and of improved integrity; and the government of the commonwealth committed unto them for a time. as the most hopeful way to encourage and countenance all God's people, reform the law; and administer justice impartially; hoping thereby the people may forget monarchy, and, understanding their true election of successive parliaments, may have the government settled upon a true basis, without hazard to this glorious cause, or necessitating to keep up armies for the defence of the same. And being still resolved to use all means possible to avoid extraordinary courses, we prevailed with about twenty members of parliament to give us a conference, with whom we freely and plainly debated the necessity

and justness of our proposals on that behalf ; and did evidence that those, and not the act under their consideration, would most probably bring forth something answerable to that work, *the foundation whereof God himself hath laid, and is now carrying on in the world.* The which, notwithstanding, found no acceptance ; but instead thereof, it was offered, that the way was to continue still this present parliament, as being that from which we might reasonably expect all good things. And this being vehemently insisted upon did much confirm us in our apprehensions ; that not any love to a representative, but the making use thereof to recruit and so perpetuate themselves, was their aim.

“They being plainly dealt with about this, and told, that neither the nation, *the honest interest*, nor we ourselves, would be deluded by such dealings, they did agree to meet again the next day in the afternoon, for mutual satisfaction ; it being consented to by the members present, that *endeavours should be used* that nothing in the mean time should be done in parliament that might exclude or frustrate the proposals before mentioned.

“Notwithstanding this, the next morning the parliament did make more haste than usual in carrying on their said act, being helped on therein by some of the persons engaged to us the night before ; none of them which were then present endeavouring to oppose the same ; and being ready to put the main question for consummating the said act, whereby our aforesaid proposals would have been rendered void, and the way of bringing them into *a fair and full debate of parliament obstructed* ; — for preventing thereof, and all the sad and evil consequences which must, upon the grounds aforesaid, have ensued, and whereby, at one blow, the interest of all honest men, and of this glorious cause, had been in danger to be laid in the dust, and these nations embroiled in new troubles, at a time when our enemies abroad are watching all advantages against us, and some of them actually engaged in war with us ; — we have

been necessitated, *though with much reluctancy*, to put an end to this parliament ; *which yet we have done (we hope) out of an honest heart, preferring this cause above our names, lives, families, or interests, how dear soever ; with clear intention and real purposes of heart to call to the government persons of approved fidelity and honesty ;* believing, that as no wise men will expect to gather grapes of thorns, so good men will hope that, if persons so qualified be chosen, the fruits of a just and righteous reformation, so long prayed and wished for, will, by the blessing of God, be in due time obtained, to the refreshing of all those good hearts who have been panting after these things.

“ Much more might have been said,” the declaration proceeded, “ *if it had been our desire to justify ourselves by aspersing others*, and raking into the misgovernment of affairs : but we shall conclude with this— that as we have been led by necessity and providence to act as we have done, even beyond and above our own thoughts and desires ; so we shall, and do, in that part of this great work which is behind, put ourselves wholly upon the Lord for a blessing ; professing, we look not to stand one day without his support, much less to bring to pass all the things mentioned and desired, without his assistance ; and therefore do solemnly desire and expect, that all men, as they would not provoke the Lord to their own destruction, *should wait for such issue as He should bring forth, and to follow their business with peaceable spirits ;* wherein we promise them protection, by his assistance.

“ And for those who profess their fear and love to the name of God, that *seeing in great measure for their sakes, and for righteousness sake, we have taken our lives in our hands to do these things*, they would be constant with the Lord day and night on our behalfs, that we may obtain grace from him ;—and seeing we have made so often mention of his name, that we may not do the least dishonour thereunto—which, indeed, would be our confusion, and a stain to the whole profession of

godliness — we beseech them also to live in all humility, meekness, righteousness, and love one towards another, and towards all men, that so they may put to silence the ignorance of the foolish, who falsely accuse them ; and to know that the late great and glorious dispensations, wherein the Lord hath so wonderfully appeared in bringing forth these things by the travail and blood of his children, ought to oblige them so to walk in the wisdom and love of Christ, as may cause others to honour their holy profession, because they see Christ to be in them of a truth.”

With these words the declaration closed : — “ We do further purpose, before it be long, *more particularly to shew the grounds of our proceedings*, and the reasons of this late great action and change, which in this *we have but hinted at*. And we do lastly declare, that all judges, sheriffs, justices of the peace, mayors, bailiffs, committees, and commissioners, and all other civil officers and public ministers whatsoever, within this commonwealth or any part thereof, do proceed in their respective places and offices ; and all persons whatsoever are to give obedience to them, as fully as when the parliament was sitting.* ”

After an unholy act, there is nothing so natural as holy profession. Through no gaps have spiritual ebullitions of this sort vented themselves so freely, as through those of unrighteousness. In the whole of this declaration there is nothing tangible or substantial ; it is profession throughout ; and in professing too much, as these officers are made to do, they declare a conscious deficiency. What they allege respecting the purpose of the statesmen not to dissolve of their own accord, is flatly disproved by the scenes of debate and council which preceded, and were even interrupted by, the outrage of the 20th of April ; and this contradiction is indeed so flagrant, that in a later part of the declaration it is not sought to be concealed ; but an attempt is

* Copied from the original edition in the British Museum ; published by Hais and Brewster, printers to the army

made to compromise it, by an assertion, that when they discovered that sudden change of the policy of the statesmen, they had good reason to "apprehend" that its aim was not "any love to a new representative, but the making use thereof to recruit and so perpetuate themselves." The disingenuous sophism carries its own refutation with it. Not by its result in that sense was such a measure to be tested, but by the justness and fairness of its own provisions. Would these officers have dared to publish a copy of the bill in question? Cromwell had seized the only one in existence (it had not been printed, or even engrossed), on the day of the dissolution; had carried it himself, under his cloak, to his own house at Whitehall; and was never afterwards known to refer to it in any way. An attempt has already been made in this work, however, to recover the substance of its main provisions*, which there is every reason to believe, as I shall hereafter show, were tried and found too popular in the issue of writs for certain parliaments of the protectorate. Too popular for the purposes of despotism they might be expected to have proved. They embodied, in truth, a fair, a reasonable, a perfectly honest appeal to the intelligent classes of the people. The measure was worthy of such a statesman as sir Henry Vane, and was, in all respects, what he might fearlessly have rested his case upon with the people and with posterity. The officers expose, unconsciously, their weakness and insecurity alone, when they confess that the result of such a measure would have been to restore the statesmen to power with additional strength for the realisation of their wise purposes. These hundred and thirty men were at once to be reinforced by three hundred and thirty supporters, who should speak, not their sentiments only, but also those of the people!

What else is said in this declaration and defence? A few things, which may be well to remember. It is declared that the new government had been specially

* See *Life of Vane*, pp. 157—162.

called into existence, in order to "settle the commonwealth on a foundation of justice and righteousness;" that the people of God, and his Spirit acting in them, were to be the main agents of the work; that a new interest of that kind had arisen, which the nation was now to look to chiefly, namely, that of the people of God in question, or, in other words, the honest people, the honest interest; that, in accordance with this, persons of that class, and of approved fidelity and honesty, would instantly be called into the government. In short, it is plainly sought to be conveyed, that the reign of saints was about to begin; and, to do them justice, some of the officers believed in the delusion which the rest thus skilfully practised. It is deserving of remark, also, that the very statesmen, who on the day of dissolution had been covered with foulest epithets of insult, are here in shame admitted to be persons of honour and integrity, who had eminently appeared for God and the public good, both before and throughout the war. Be it remembered, too, that the declaration confesses the existence of considerable sympathy with the last parliament in the minds of the people (though it would imply its having been unfairly obtained), and plainly dreads the outbreak of more. It refers uneasily to divers petitions from several counties for the parliament's continuance; and finds it needful to implore "all men," as they would not provoke the Lord to their own destruction, to wait patiently for such issue as He should bring forth, and to follow their business meanwhile with peaceable spirits. Finally, the authors of this declaration, as if in betrayal of even their own sense of the inadequacy of all the reasons they had attempted for the late mischievous outrage, declare it to be their purpose, "before it be long," to show more particularly the grounds of their proceedings, and the reasons of the late great action and change.

And it was not long, it may be confessed — a day or two only had elapsed — when a second declaration appeared accordingly. It was brief, however; contained nothing that had not been said in even greater detail

in the first* ; was merely a compromise for additional delay ; and may fairly be taken to imply a further doubt, on the part of Cromwell and his officers, of the quiet or patience of the people in the new and strange order of things. It was followed by a third and more memorable declaration, which appeared significantly in the name of " Oliver Cromwell, captain-general," only. This was published on the last day of April ; was comprised in about twenty lines ; and stated, that whereas it had been promised, in the declaration of the 22d, *that persons of approved fidelity and honesty should be called from the several parts of the commonwealth to the supreme authority*, it now appeared that *some time must necessarily elapse before such an assembly could be brought together*. It was therefore judged proper, to prevent the mischief and inconveniences which might in the mean time arise to the commonwealth, that a council of state should be constituted, to take care of and superintend the peace, safety, and present management of public affairs.†

It is a very remarkable circumstance, however, as the reader will at once perceive, if he glances a page or two back, that no such pledge as this, which plainly implies a parliament, had been given in the declaration of the 22d. The words there used were, that it was the intention " to call to the government persons of approved fidelity and honesty." The only inference undoubtedly was that of an election of a council of state, and most certainly not of any " assembly " from " several parts of the commonwealth." Whence, then, had arisen this so sudden change. Whence could it possibly have arisen, but from some paramount necessity, as suddenly made apparent in the nation, and which declared to Cromwell the expediency of rendering that military council of his somewhat more palatable to the

* It would be useless to quote it here, as there is not a single new point in it. It may be found in *Several Proceedings*, No. 187, British Museum Library.

† Moderate Publisher, 131. Perfect Politician, 173. Godwin's *Commonwealth*, vol. iii. p. 520.

people, even separated and distracted as they were, by a certain show of civil countenance and concurrence. Such facts as these, and the considerations they carry with them, are of singular importance towards a due estimate of this momentous crisis. It was clearly by steps the most gradual our Cromwell was mounting his throne. From the body of the king, he had stepped upon the ruins of the parliament of statesmen; and from the carcass of a second parliament of saints, he proposed to vault into the protector's throne.

It is instructive to know, that any instant declaration of his despotic purpose, after his action of the 20th of April, might still have been fatal to the scheme. It argues much for the germs of good that were in the people yet, deluded as they had been by their enemies, mistaken by their friends, and now on the eve of a consummation of delusion and mistake, at once fatal and never to be redeemed. We see that they had been accustomed to associate for so many years their security and rights with the great thought of parliament, that its very name was to prove a sufficient veil to hide from them the darkest designs; and a merest shadow and pretence of its great significance to all that was held valuable in England, was to enable Cromwell to pass for something less than the usurper his precipitate deed of the 20th was calculated to declare him, and indeed to wipe out no small or indifferent portion of the very crime of that deed, forced on him, as it was, before his plans were ripe, by the intrepid and self-possessed resolution of Vane and his friends. Sympathies were thus to be divided between the old and new parliaments; the expectation of the new birth would greatly suspend any violent workings of judgment against the old murder; the troublesome honesty of the few officers who might happen to stick to the saints' reign would be more easily dealt with; and, finally, explanations might be much better given to an assembly of that description, and through them to the country, by some speech which the captain-general could at once deliver, on his own ground,

supported by the prestige of his name and influence, and without control from any possible quarter, than any such farther declaration as had been promised from the military council could in any case supply.

And in this way, it happened accordingly, such explanations were actually given. They shall be noticed in this place, because, though they do not thus occur in order of time, the subject to which they relate is under discussion here, and could never be disposed of in any degree fairly or conclusively without listening to all that Cromwell himself, coolly and cautiously meditating the matter, may at any time, or under any circumstances, have either divulged or sought to conceal respecting it.

After various striking allusions (which will more properly find insertion in another place) to the commencement of the war, following its progress up to the settlement of the government in "the name, at least, of a commonwealth," and specially developing what he called "God's mercies" in it, the captain-general thus proceeded:—"I shall now begin a little to remember you of the passages that have been transacted since Worcester fight; whence coming with my fellow officers and soldiers, we expected — and had some reasonable confidence that our expectations should not be frustrated — that the authority that then was, having such a history to look back unto, such a God that appeared for them so eminently, so visibly, that even our enemies many times confessed that God himself was engaged against them, or they should never have been brought so low, nor disappointed in every undertaking, — for that may be said, by the way, had we miscarried but once, where had we been, — I say, we did think, and had some reasonable confidence, that, coming up then, the mercies that God had showed, the expectations that were in the hearts of all good men, would have prompted those that were in authority to have done those good things, which might, by honest men, have been judged a return fit for such a God, and worthy of such mercies, and, indeed, a discharge of duty to those, for whom all these

mercies have been showed, that is, the interest of the three nations, the true interest of the three nations.

“ And, if I should now labour to be particular in enumerating some businesses, that have been transacted from that time till the dissolution of the late parliament, indeed I should be upon a theme that would be very troublesome to myself. For I must say for myself and fellow officers, we have rather desired and studied healing, than to rake into sores, and look backward, to render things in these colours that would not be very well pleasing to any good eye to look upon. Only this we must say, for our own exoneration, and as thereby laying some foundation for the making evident *the necessity and duty, that was incumbent upon us to make this last great change*, I think it will not be amiss to offer a word or two in that, not taking pleasure to rake into the business, were there not some kind of necessity so to do.

“ Indeed, we may say, without commending ourselves — I mean myself, and those gentlemen that have been engaged in the military affairs — that, upon our return, we came, fully bent in our hearts and thoughts, to desire and use all fair and lawful means we could to have had the nation to reap the fruit of all that blood and treasure that had been expended in this cause ; and we have had many desires and thirstings in our spirits, to find out ways and means, wherein we might any ways be instrumental to help it forward ; and we were very tender, for a long time, so much as to petition, till August last, or thereabouts ; we never offered to petition ; but some of our then members, and others, having good acquaintance and relation to divers members of the parliament, we did, from time to time, solicit that, which we thought (if there had been no body to prompt them, no body to call upon them,) would have been listened to, out of ingenuity and integrity in them, that had opportunity to have answered our expectations ; and truly, when we saw nothing would be done, we did, as we thought, according to our duty, remind them by a

petition — which petition I suppose the most of you have seen — which we delivered either in July or August last ; what effect that had is likewise very well known. The truth is, we had no return at all that was satisfaction for us, but a few words given us. The business petitioned for, most of them we were told, were under consideration ; and those that were not had very little or no consideration at all.”

Up to this point nothing is to be observed but a vague repetition of the declaration of the officers on the 22d of April. Some remarkable passages follow, however, in which much that is most worthy of attention will be found. Pretences of the dissatisfaction of the people, “in every corner of the land,” are set forth ; the meetings of the cabal of soldiers and moderate or dishonest members are craftily described as of authority from the parliament ; the principle of the bill prepared by Vane is acknowledged to be just, though a want of “integrity and caution” is alleged against its details ; the absolute intention of the parliament to dissolve themselves is not sought to be denied ; and the whole is wrapped up in a cloud of words, implying communications with “the Lord,” which is certainly well adapted to mystify whatever glimmerings or professions of substantial or honest meaning might, without it, have hoped to settle upon the minds of the assembly. It is worth remark, moreover, that the motive of reserving these explanations to such an occasion is fairly avowed.

“Finding the people dissatisfied *in every corner of the nation*, and bringing home to our doors the non-performance of those things that had been promised, and were of due to be performed, we did think ourselves concerned — we endeavoured, as became honest men, to keep up the reputation of honest men in the world ; and therefore we had, divers times, endeavoured to obtain a meeting with divers members of parliament ; and truly we did not begin this till October last, and in those meetings did, in all faithfulness and sincerity, beseech them, that they would be mindful of their duty

to God and man, and of the discharge of their trust to God and man. I believe these gentlemen that are many of them here can tell, that *we had, at the least, ten or twelve meetings, most humbly begging und beseeching them that, of their own accords, they would do those good things that had been promised, that so it might appear they did not do them by any suggestion from the army, but of their own ingenuity, so tender were we to preserve them in the reputation and opinion of the people to the uttermost.* And having had many of those meetings, and declaring plainly that the issue would be the judgment and displeasure of God against them, the dissatisfaction of the people, and the putting things into a confusion, yet, how little we did prevail, we well know, and, we believe, is not unknown to you. At the last, when we saw, indeed, that things would not be laid to heart, we had a serious consideration amongst ourselves, what other way to have recourse unto ; and when, indeed, we came to those close considerations, they began to take the act of the new representative to heart, and seemed exceeding willing to put it on ; *the which, had it been done, or would it have been done with that integrity, with that caution, that would have saved this cause and the interest we have been so long engaged in, there could nothing have happened to our judgments more welcome than that would have been ;* but finding plainly, that the intendment of it was not to give the people that right of choice, although it had been, but a ceding right, or the seeming to give the people that choice, intended and designed *to recruit the house, the better to perpetuate themselves.* And truly divers of us, being spoken to to that end, that we should give way to it, a thing to which we had a perpetual aversion, which we did abominate the thoughts of, we always declared our judgments against it, and our dissatisfaction ; but yet they would not hear of a representative, *before it lay three years before them,* without proceeding with one line considerably in it ; they that could not endure to hear of it, *then, when we came to*

our close considerations, then, instead of protracting, they did make as much preposterous haste on the other hand, and ran into that extremity ; and finding that this spirit was not according to God, and that the whole weight of this cause, which must needs have been very dear unto us, who have so often adventured our lives for it, and we believe is so to you ; when we saw plainly that there was not so much consideration how to assert it, or to provide security for it ; and, indeed, to cross those that they reckoned the most troublesome people they had to deal with, which was the army, which by this time was sufficiently their displeasure ; when we saw this, truly, that had power in our hands, to let the business go to such an issue as this, was to throw back the cause into the hands of them we first fought with ; we came to this first conclusion amongst ourselves, that, if we had been fought out of it, necessity would have taught us patience ; but, to be taken from us so unworthily, we should be rendered the worst people in the world, and we should become traitors both to God and man ; and when God had laid this to our hearts, and that we found the interest of his people was grown cheap, and not laid to heart, and, if we came to competition of things, the cause even amongst themselves would even, almost in every thing, go to the ground ; this did add more consideration to us ; that there was a duty incumbent upon us, and truly I speak it in the presence of some that are here, that were at the close consultations ; — I may say, as before the Lord, the thinking of an act of violence was, to us, worse than any engagement that ever we were in yet, and worse to us than the utmost hazard of our lives that could be ; so unwilling were we, so tender were we, so desirous were we, if it were possible, that these men might have quit their places with honour. And, truly, this I am the longer upon, because it hath been, in our hearts and consciences, our justification, and hath never yet been imparted thorough to the nation ; and we had rather begin with you to do it, than to have done it before ;

and do think, indeed, that these transactions be more proper for a verbal communication, than to have put it into writing. I doubt, whosoever had put it on would have been tempted to have dipped his pen in anger and wrath; but, affairs being at this posture, that we saw plainly and evidently, in some critical things, that the cause of the people of God was a despised thing, truly then we did believe that the hands of other men must be the hands that must be trusted with it; and then we thought it high time for us to look about us, and to be sensible of our duty."

This extraordinary narrative, or "justification," not until now "imparted thorough to the nation," is afterwards continued in a still more singular, involved, and well-nigh incomprehensible style. The entire passage demands quotation, since it is a fair test of the essential character of the justification itself, that it was found necessary to multiply into such a rhapsody of words the few bare pretences on which alone it rests. How widely different from the state documents under the hand of Cromwell that have elsewhere been quoted in this work, when truth clothes him in her own language, and, — better sustained by that simple and homely inspiration within his soul, than by any tawdry affectation of those superior judgments, or "births of providence," which are never called in but in aid of miserable pretence, or to prop up shattered conviction, — his arguments are as clear and bright to the eyes of men, as to their minds they are solid, masterly, convincing! There is a memorable lesson to be read in this contrast alone.

In continuation of the assertions already given, Cromwell thus went on: — "If I should take up your time to tell you what instances we have to satisfy our judgments and consciences, that these things were not vain imaginations, and things that were petitioned for, but that fell within the compass of our certain knowledge and sense; should I repeat these things to you, I should do that which I would avoid, to rake into these things

too much ; only this — if any body were in competition for any place of real and signal trust, how hard and difficult a thing it was to get any thing to be carried, without making parties, without things, indeed, unworthy of a parliament ! And, when things must be carried so in a supreme authority, indeed, I think, it is not as it ought to be ; but, when it came to other trials, in that case of Wales *, which I must confess, for my own part, I set myself upon, — if I should inform you what discountenance that business of the poor people of God there had, who had watchings over them, *men like so many wolves, ready to catch the lamb as soon as it was brought out into the world !* how signally they threw that business under foot, to the discountenancing of the honest people there, and to *the countenancing of the malignant party* of this commonwealth ! I need but say it was so ; many have felt, by sad experience, it was so, who will better impart that business to you ; which, for myself and fellow officers, I think it was as perfect a trial of our spirits as any thing : it being known to many of us, that God kindles a seed there, indeed, hardly to be paralleled since the primitive times. I would this had been all the instances ; but finding which way their spirits went, and finding that good was never intended to the people of God, *I mean, when I say so, that large comprehension of them, under the several forms of godliness in this nation ;* when I saw, that tenderness was forgotten to them all (though it was very true, that, by their hands and means, through the blessing of God, they sat where they did), and affairs, not to speak it boastingly, had been instrumentally brought to that issue they were brought to by the hands of those poor creatures, we thought this an evil requital. I will not say

* I cannot exactly make out the allusion here ; but it seems to have been some complaint of the suspension of the law in Wales, occasioned by the expression of the first acts of Cromwell, had been to suspend (by statute) four judges of South Wales — Eltonhead, Norbury, Powel, and Clerke ; and to appoint two new judges, Corbet and Haggitt, for that district. An extraordinary stretch of power, indeed, in a government that did not even arrogate to itself the shadow of a final or sufficient authority !

they were at the uttermost pitch of reformation, although I could say that one thing, *the regulation of the law*, so much groaned under in that posture it now is in, there were many words spoken for it, yet we know many months together was not time enough to pass over one word called incumbrances; I say, finding that this was the spirit and complexion of them, that though these were faults for which no man should have dared to lift his hand, simply for faults and failings, *when yet we saw their intendment was to perpetuate themselves* and men of this spirit, for some had it from their own mouths, from their own designs, who could not endure to hear of being dissolved, — this was an high breach of trust; if they had been a parliament never violated, sitting as free and as clear as ever any sat in England, yet, if they would go about to perpetuate themselves, we did think this so great a breach of trust as greater could not be. And we did not go by guess in this, and to be out of doubt in it, we did (having that conference amongst ourselves whereof we gave account,) we did desire once more, *the night before the dissolution*, and it had been in our desires some two or three days before, that we might speak with some of the principal persons of the house, that we might, with ingenuity, open our ears to them, to the end we might be either convinced of the ground of their principles and intentions, to the good of the nation; or, if we could not be convinced, they would hear our offer, or expedient, to prevent this mischief. And, indeed, *we could not prevail for two or three days till the night before the dissolution*. There is a touch of this in that our declaration: we had often desired it. *At that time we attained it, there were above twenty of them who were members, not of the least consideration for interest and ability, with whom we desired to discourse those things, and had discourse with them*; and it pleased the gentlemen-officers of the army to desire me to offer their sense to them, and, indeed, it was shortly carried thus. We told them, that the reason of our desire to wait

upon them was, that we might know from them what security lay in the way of their proceeding so hastily with their representative, wherein they had made a few qualifications, such as they were ; and how the whole business should be executed we had no account of ; and we desired them they would be pleased, and we thought we had an interest in our lives, estates, and families, as well as the worst people of the nation, and that we might be bold to ask satisfaction in that ; and if they did proceed in honest ways, as might be safe to the nation, we might acquiesce therein. When we pressed them to give satisfaction in this, the answer was made, that *nothing could be good to the nation but the continuance of this parliament*. We wondered that we should have such a return ; we said little to that ; but, seeing they would not give us that which might satisfy us that their way was honest and safe, they would give us leave to make our objections.

“ We did tell them, that we thought that way they were going in would be impracticable : we could not tell them how it would be brought to pass, to send out an act of parliament into the country, to have qualifications in an act to be the rules of electors and elected, and not to know who should execute this. *Desired to know whether the next parliament were not like to be all presbyters ?* Whether those qualifications would hinder them, or neuters ? And though it be our desire to value and esteem persons of that judgment, only they having been as we know, having deserted this cause and interest upon the king’s account, and upon that closure between them and the neighbour nation, we do think we must profess we had as good have delivered up our cause into the hands of any, as into the hands of interested and biassed men ; *for it is one thing to live friendly and brotherly, to bear with, and love, a person of another judgment in religion ; another thing to have any so far set into the saddle upon that account, as it should be in them to have all the rest of their brethren at mercy*. Having had this discourse, making these objections of

bringing in neuters, or such as should impose upon their brethren, or such as had given testimony to the king's party ; and objecting to the danger of it, in drawing the concourse of all people to arraign every individual person, which indeed did fall obviously in, and the issue would certainly have been the putting it into the hands of men that had little affection to this cause, the answer again was made, and it was confessed by some, that these objections did lie ; *but answer was made by a very eminent person, at the same time as before, that nothing would save the nation but the continuance of this parliament.* This being so, we humbly proposed an expedient of ours, which was, indeed, to desire that—the government being in that condition it was, and things being under so much ill sense abroad, and so likely to come to confusion in every respect, if it went on — so we desired *they would devolve the trust over to persons of honour and integrity, that were well known, men well affected to religion and the interest of the nation,* which we told them, and was confessed, had been no new thing when these nations had been under the like hurly-burly and distractions ; and it was confessed by them it had been no new thing. We had been at labour to get precedents to convince them of it ; and we told them these things we offered out of that deep sense we had of the good of the nation, and the cause of Christ. And were answered to that, nothing would save the nation but the continuance of that parliament, *although they would not say they would perpetuate it, at that time least of all.*

“ But, finding their endeavours did directly tend to it, they gave us this answer, that the things we had offered were of a tender and very weighty consideration. They did make objections how we should raise money, and some other objections. We told them, that that we offered as an expedient, because we thought better, than that for which no reason was or thought would be given. We desired them to lay the thing seriously to heart. They told us, they would take consideration of these

things till the morning ; that they would sleep upon them : and I think that there was scarce any day that there sat above fifty, or fifty-two, or fifty-three. *At the parting, two or three of the chief ones, the very chiefest of them, did tell us, that they would endeavour the suspending the proceedings of the representative the next day, till they had a further conference ; and we did acquiesce, and had hope, if our expedient would take up a loving debate, the next day we should have some such issue of our debate as would have given a satisfaction to all. They went away late at night ; and the next morning, we considering how to order that which we had to offer to them when they were to meet in the evening, word was brought they were proceeding with a representative with all the eagerness they could : we did not believe persons of such quality could do it. A second and third messenger told us they had almost finished it, and had brought it to that issue with that haste that had never been known before ; leaving out the things that did necessarily relate to due qualifications, as we have heard since ; resolved to make it a paper-bill, not to ingross it, that they might make the quicker dispatch of it, thus to have thrown all the liberties of the nation into the hands that never bled for it : upon this account, we thought it our duty not to suffer it, and upon this the house was dissolved.**

In all this fanfaronade of words, it appears to me that there are only two substantial statements worthy of special remark, beyond those adverted to already. The first is, that a disposition against the further existence of the parliament had been manifested in "every corner of the land ;" and the second that, if they had been permitted to pass the act of self-dissolution, its immediate result would have been to "throw all the liberties of the nation into the hands that never had bled for

* I have copied these passages from the original edition, which is thus entitled :—"The Lord General's Speech, delivered in the council chamber, upon the 4th of July, 1653, to the persons then assembled and entrusted with the supreme authority of the nation. This is a true copy, published for information and to prevent mistakes." It has the date of 1654.

it," by returning a majority of presbyterians to recruit the forces of the old members. In other words, the statesmen were to be recruited by the help of their bitterest foes. The lion was to lie down with the fox. The independant and the presbyterian were to rush into sudden embrace. The thick, the sordid, and unhealthy atmosphere of arrogant and intolerant bigotry, was to melt suddenly into the clear and generous air of perfect religious freedom. Ridiculous as such pretences are, — for every thing that is devoid of truth must, some time or other, become a thing ridiculous,—history has not chosen to reject them.

Both are sanctioned, for example, by one of the ablest, and (taking all things into consideration) the most impartial, of modern historians. Doctor Lingard tells us, that this long parliament "fell without a struggle or a groan, unpitied and unregretted.* *The members slunk away to their homes*, where they sought by submission to purchase the forbearance of their new master; and their partisans, if partisans they had, reserved themselves in silence for a day of retribution, which came not before Cromwell slept in his grave." It is a pity that in such a history should be copied the mere

* Mr. Hallam has done still greater injustice (in Const. Hist. vol ii. p. 324-5.) to these celebrated men. "The parliament," he takes occasion to say, in one passage, "in its present wreck, contained few leaders of superior ability." Why, it contained Vane, Scot, Algernon Sidney, Fiennes, Blake, Ludlow, Bradshaw, Maiten, Harrington, Neville, Whitelocke, Haselrig! — all the leaders that had ever sat in it to the advantage of their own fame or of the public good, save the great dead, Pym and Hampden. Cromwell, too, Oliver St John, and the chief of the army officers, were members still, though traitors. If Mr Hallam would imply that the long parliament lost its character and virtue when it lost the crafty Hyde, the venomous Prynne, the mean and arrogant Holles, the nervous and fearful Rudyard, and all those other men whose names have happily perished, but whose votes declare them of the same poor and pitiful stamp, — then only what he says is intelligible, and will receive the consideration due to it. He proceeds to call the statesmen "the creatures of military force" — an ill-considered and unwise phrase to apply to the men who alone gave efficacy to that force, who were its authors to all good ends, who pointed the road to victory, and who consolidated its advantages when gained. "Their claim to a legal authority," Mr. Hallam continues, "and to the name of representatives of a people who rejected and abhorred them, was perfectly impudent." Of the probable truth of such a decisive assertion, founded as it is on pure surmise, the reader will perhaps receive some means of judging, if he reads a few pages onward.

ribald slander of the time. "The news of this Luciferian fall," says a contemporary libel, "was quietly spread throughout the city, and from thence into the kingdom, being related and received with all imaginable gladness ; while *the members slunk away*, muttering to themselves the affront they had received, and laying their heads together how to retrieve themselves ; for loth they were to suffer this violence, or acknowledge their dissolution ; *which they would by no means hear of*. But whatever they fancied to the contrary, *raving at this boldness and audaciousness of their servant, as they styled Cromwell*, he minded it not, but went on in his work." The manifest contradiction in all this need not be remarked upon. Their righteous and brave denial of the legality of the act that had dispersed them is not compatible with the cowardly slinking away ; the alleged submission to their new master is flatly disproved by their open and loud "raving" against the audaciousness and boldness of their old servant. What, then, was the simple fact ? In what regard did their memory really stand, after their dispersion, with the people they had served so well.

Cromwell has charged upon them the popular hatred and indifference, and a desire to strengthen themselves by the help of presbyterianism. It most fortunately happens, that an answer on both these charges is left to us, from the lips of one who sealed his truthfulness with his blood. Thomas Scot, who was Vane's equal in virtue, and only second to him in intellect, and whose last utterance, before he surrendered his neck to the executioner, was a blessing to God, that he had "devoted his life to a cause that was not to be repented of*," spoke these words in the first parliament of Richard Cromwell.† Mr. Bulkeley, a fierce presbyterian, had repeated Cromwell's first charge of the popular indifference, characterising the government of the commonwealth as "a monster," that was suddenly dissolved,

* See Life of Marten, p. 346.

† Reported in the Diary of Thomas Burton.

“ without either coroner or inquest upon it ;” when Scot answered him thus : “ That gentleman says the parliament went out, and no complaining in the streets, nor enquiry after them. *That is according to the company men keep.* Men suit the letter to their lips. It is as men converse. I never met a zealous asserter of that cause, but lamented it, to see faith broken, and somewhat else. I will say no more. *It was as much bewailed as the instrument of government.* A petition, the day after the parliament was dissolved, *from forty of the chief officers, the aldermen of the city of London, and many godly divines (except the rigid presbyters, too well wishers to Mr. Love’s treason),* besought to have *that parliament restored.* But the protector, being resolved to carry on his work, *threatened, terrified, and displaced them : and who would, for such a shattered thing, venture their all ?* You have had five changes ; — this is the fifth : *and yet the people have not rest.*”

Rest, — rest : there is much in that word which is significant at all times ; nor since the world began have greater sacrifices been made for freedom, by the conscientious and the bold, than have been made for rest, by even the virtuous and the well intentioned. It is scarcely unnatural that it should be so. Political struggles of a great character are for the future rather than the present ; as the petty squabbles of party politicians are for the present, and never for the future. The people who have suffered most in these great struggles are precisely those who reap the least, and who have the fewest resources of imagination against a failure in the realities. They have fought and bled, they have toiled, suffered, been plundered and taxed, and, after twelve years of the horrors of a war of brother against brother, and homestead against homestead, they discover that they are, in all worldly advantages, to appearance where they first began. They know not of the seed they have planted for posterity ; they see not long lines of their childrens’ children better and happier for them ; they know only that bread is as dear as it was,

that the state has its exactions still, — and that, though they have won the freedom to follow the dictates of their conscience, and worship their maker as they please, — though they have pushed from before their daily path the public robber, the rack, the pestilential jail, — yet life is not to them less laden with toil, or redeemed by comfort or rest. The wages of the earth have become even more niggard than they were by the claims of these long years of contest, — the tithe for their fair support less freely yielded from its “cold hard bosom.” The enthusiasm which first sustained them, too, has gradually worn itself down; and they are suddenly made sensible of wretched discords and divisions, where they should still have been able to recognise a bond of union, one and indivisible, between every actor or sufferer in the cause. These things should be remembered in judging what is called the fickleness of the people; and then it may be freely and fairly admitted, that they did not support the statesmen by all the means that were in their power. In other words, they made no demonstration for them. They could scarcely be expected to know the importance of all that was at stake. It is not till we have retired to a distance from the actual scene of such a political conflict as this was, that the men and things engaged in it assume their due proportions. Not till then is the good that has been bravely done estimated in connection with the difficulty of doing it, or the tyranny that has been strangely suffered in connection with the plausible pretences it was based on.

And in speaking of the people in these terms, let me be understood to include, not only the lower orders of men in the labouring districts and the towns, but the smaller tenants and householders, the industrious workmen, the penniless students, even the levellers and the diggers*, — all who had borne arms or supplied mate-

* These diggers (not a very large but a very curious sect, and very expressive of the hope and the despondency of this strange and memorable time) were something in the nature of the Spencean philosophers, who made themselves notorious some twenty years since. The names of two of their leaders have come down to us, Gerrard Winstanley and Everard. Winstanley wrote numerous tracts in support of their tenets; and from

rials, or in action or patience suffered, in behalf of the parliament against the king. To all of these, in a greater or less degree, it must have occurred to undergo what I have described. The enthusiast saw too great a preference for civil over spiritual freedom ; there was too much protection for property to please the leveller ; too great a latitude for conscience to please the bigot ; and, of all to be most regretted, an unwise dread of the power and purposes of the bad, had worked to the disadvantage and dissatisfaction of the good and well-intentioned. None could have estimated rightly the position of the statesmen during the difficulties that beset the commonwealth in its early years ; few could be other than unjust in a natural resentment of the continued reservation of those rights of citizenship and privileges of representation which had been won as worthily as they seemed to be undeservedly withheld. And hence it was, that when a new party had risen, with these words ever on their lips, and with still loftier promises there for sudden and sublime realisation, it was found too late to redress the errors of the old. The force of habit in those sections of the people I have named, who still continued to bear arms under Cromwell's command, induced an instinctive reverence for his movements, stronger than any that could be set up against them. His voice was the trumpet that preceded victory to them, and to follow any other would be to challenge disaster or defeat. Others there were among those classes, some anabaptists, some fifth-monarchy-men, some levellers even *, in sincere

these we learn that their principles were, that God gave all things in common, and that every man has a right to the fruits of the earth. They professed an intention not to disturb any one in his possessions ; but they asserted that the time was come when the whole world would shortly espouse their principles. They made their appearance at St. George's Hill, near Walton, in Surrey, Winstanley and Everard being at their head, with about thirty followers ; and, resorting to an open common, they began to dig the earth, and deposit in it seeds and roots. They were not, however, permitted to proceed in this very innocent and primitive occupation ; for, alas ! Fairfax sent two troops of horse to disperse them, who destroyed some of their implements and tools, and conducted a few of the more obstinate and petulant of themselves to prison. See *Whitlocke. Pamphlets by Winstanley. Cause of the Diggers, &c* Godwin, vol. ii. p. 82

* There were undoubtedly some sincere men among the levellers, though they were more rare in this than in any other section or party of the time,

delusion as to the wonderful things to be done in the reign of sanctity upon earth, in the person of Harrison and his

Nearly all of them partook, in a greater or less degree, of the violent, self-willed, and intemperate character of their leader, John Lilburne, who was a Cobbett, without his intellect; altogether a most vain, vulgar, and irrational person. Confusion was his panacea for every thing. At once the most credulous and the most suspicious of men, he fancied that all the honesty left in the world had suddenly taken up its abode in the breast of John Lilburne, and his atrocious and abominable detraction was accordingly poured out in never-ceasing succession upon every party in the state. He could live only in the heated and disordered air of abuse and quarrel. Even stronger than his self-love was his love of this, and hence arose that famous saying of the great wit of the commonwealth, that, if only he were left upon the earth, John would quarrel with Lilburne, and Lilburne with John. Every act of kindness shown him in his life (see the Memoir of Marten, p. 257. and p. 325.) was only the signal for a pouring down of fresh abuse on the indiscreet generosity that performed it. Even when he had received compensation for his sufferings in the star-chamber, he at once turned fiercely round on the men who gave it, as if, in taking from him the privilege of being considered an ill-used person, they had abridged his means

passage in this pamphlet, called "A Just Reproof to Haseldensiers man," one of those thousand paper trumpets through which he was continually pouring the bad breath of his ridiculous self-conceit. He had some supposed claim on Haselrig for money, and thus (in 1651) refers to it. "Meeting Mr. Pearson at the George, in Channel Row, I told him, if his master thought to keep my money while I sued him at law, it was a vain thought: for he was too great for me to encounter him that way, and I had neither money nor time to spend upon him: therefore I intreated him, as he loved sir Arthur's life and welfare, to say to him, that I wore a good dagger by my left side, and if within eight days he did not give me some rational satisfaction, let me know where I might find him, wherever I met him, I would pay into a thousand pieces on the very spot any sincere political object in view

is not for an instant conceivable. He merely sought about, in some day's new fit of wilful discontent, for mean jealousies and violent passions among the lower sections of the army, and had little difficulty in finding them. The mutinies which followed, and which, though always promptly suppressed, have given the levelers (for such was the name assumed by these Lilburne factions, though they disclaimed any levelling designs on property) a place in history, had never any defined object, unless the promotion of disorder and confusion can be so designated. It is quite impossible to discern at any time a steady purpose in Lilburne, save that at all times he would seem to have looked with a keen eye to his own profit and loss. It is equally clear that his intemperate followers derived all their importance from the great stock of which they were the paltry offshoot, or, rather, refuse,—the army, on the theretofore unsullied brightness of whose military discipline they cast an unexpected stain. Still, as in every movement of this kind during a period of general unrest, honest men were deluded into their body, and to these allusion is made in the text. So far as the object of such can be ascertained, through the extraordinary clouds of selfish pretension that envelope all Lilburne's writings, it would seem to have been much of the same sort as that of Harrison and the anabaptists, or fifth-monarchy-men, making allowance for the religious peculiarities of the latter. They demanded annual parliaments, and a sort of universal representation of the "universal elect" among the people. They held, not only that christianity forbade the rule of a single person on the earth, but that it was irreconcilable with many civil institutions which Vane and the statesmen considered to be essential to the liberties of England. They de-

friends. Moderate royalists there were, too, even in these popular divisions, who had gone out upon the question of a limited monarchy ; who had remained constant to that throughout ; and who, in fact, turned the scale of the entire population in decided favour of a monarchical system. Then there were the indifferent, and the restless, and the conceited men, who were in favour of themselves chiefly, and the five senses that composed them, and to whom any thing new, which could gratify one of these, had a merit at once admirable and indescribable. For all such, five years of a commonwealth were quite enough of one thing. These are the men that play the fashionable host in politics, who "slightly shakes his parting guest by the hand, but with his arms outstretched, as he would fly, grasps in the comer."* Finally — and be they still and ever remembered with peculiar honour, as they were remembered by Vane, when he addressed the crowd who surrounded his scaffold, in words which all England, as England then was, should have blushed to hear, — there were men who,

sired an almost entire alteration of the common law, and were clamorous for the total abolition of tithes, and, indeed, of all regular stipends to the ministry. The chief men among the more honest were Thomas Prince, Richard Overton, and William Walwyn, and it is a very curious and memorable circumstance, that in certain writings of the last two men, which are to be found among the pamphlets of the time, decided *avowals* of disbelief (almost the only instances of such, perhaps, in these pious days) are to be found. Overton, for example, wrote a tract, entitled "Man's Mortality : or a Treatise proving Man *(quatenus animal rationale)* a Compound wholly Mortal." His proofs are drawn from reason and scripture ; and his ostensible doctrine is, that "condemnation in hell is not properly, but remotely, the reward of Adam's fall, and is the wages of unbelief, or unbelief in Christ, as salvation is of belief ;" and that the whole human species, to whom the christian faith has not been proposed, are merely mortal. But, as the purpose of his entire treatise is to establish man's mortality, and the immortality of those to whom Christianity is proposed is dismissed in a few lines, it is not unreasonable to conclude, with a writer who notices the subject, that this is introduced only as a palliation, to take off the general odium to which the author might otherwise have been exposed ; and also to retain the particular influence with those levellers and mutineers which to an infidel or scoffer would have been indignantly refused. Walwyn did not publish his peculiar sentiments himself, but they were placarded for him in "Walwyn's Wiles, or the Manifestators Manifested."

* Of these, it is needless to say, after the preceding note, John Lilburne is the great and most restless type. Baffled and banished, in the plenitude of the power of the parliament, he opened a negotiation in Holland with Charles Stuart : in the midst of it, suddenly made aware of the dispersion of the parliament by Cromwell, he reappeared in London to attempt conciliation with the usurper. It was very vain, as we shall see, but not the less significant of the man and his faction.

“whatever defections did happen by apostates, hypocrites, and time-serving worldlings, continued firm, sincere, and chaste unto *the cause* to the last, and loved it better than their very lives.” Of such were the men just named by Scot, as threatened, terrified, displaced, oppressed by Cromwell, and trampled on by his creatures, for their love to that “shattered thing,” the self-governed commonwealth of England.

That the effect produced on all these sections of men, by the forcible dispersion of the long parliament and the government of statesmen, was most fatal and disastrous, there cannot be a reasonable doubt. The bond which had hitherto held such various elements together was by that act violently broken. Men might disagree on every variety of minor matter which did not compromise the virtue and good faith of the leaders under whose banners they had fought, and by whose example they had conquered. So long as these remained entire, a great common agreement, for the sake of a cause in which all had already staked so much in common, could neither be hopeless, nor even distant far. But this potent charm once gone, all else went with it. There lay the crime of Cromwell, still more than in his disregard of truth, or of his own so solemnly sworn assertions. Whatever for twelve memorable years had been thought sacred, he made profane; whatever men had begun to think most durable, he scattered to the winds. While Vane was struggling to seize advantage of the dawn of a better day, which had more or less arisen to the minds of all his countrymen, and use it to the elevation of each in the social and intellectual scale, Cromwell only worked in the night that still hung about the dawn, and, by studying old prejudices and habits not yet past, sought first to elevate himself upon a throne. What Vane proposed to have done, in general amelioration of the minds and habits of Englishmen, was flung back for an indefinite and almost hopeless time by the act of the 20th of April; what Cromwell resolved to achieve for himself was half accomplished by that

act alone. Let this determine its character. The people throughout the country saw suddenly the most venerated and illustrious names in the land covered with ribaldry and insult ; and they beheld the grave assembly which had built up the commonwealth, which had scourged its enemies into the dust, and held its false friends cowering and crouching down, — that assembly, so learned, so valiant, and so powerful, under which the English people at least enjoyed what liberties they then had, and from which they would have patiently waited still, in expectation of new and unknown blessings, — they beheld it one day receiving homage, in the name of a free people, from ambassadors of princes, and in the next they saw it hooted out of its place, in the name of jugglers, drunkards adulterers, and cheats, by the muskets of its own servant. The moral effect of that deed was never to be recalled. Honour was a pretence, piety a pretence, and the substance of all things good evaporated into air. It would occur to few among the ordinary masses of the people to ask the reason or the justice. Enough for them, that what had been was no more. It would least of all occur to the state of society, or of parties, I have attempted to describe, to cling for support, in this common want, or common sorrow, to faith in the still superior virtue of the cause, under the very name and pretence of which these strange outrages had been committed. It had been tried already, and found wanting. It had held together, for upwards of twelve years, and through every kind of doubt, defection, toil, dread, and triumph, the soul of the parliament and the struggle, bound as with links of adamant ; and now, in one little instant, these had broken like a rope of sand. Nothing of a permanent or substantial character could ever hope thereafter to belong to it. It no longer implied a solid truth, against which the giddy factions, the minor differences and divisions of the hour, might dash themselves in vain ; — it held forth nothing now that was defined or certain ; — there was never more to be in-

cluded in it a general and common object which all might pursue ; no longer a quiet haven which, through what different passages soever, all could still hope to reach ; — it was resolved suddenly into no more than one of the indifferent chances or casualties of the world, and had become a trick for the luckiest man to make the most of, a stake for the best gambler to win. And meanwhile, in the various uncertainties of the present, what offered most fairly would be of course most greedily taken ; whatever looked like rest, or held up convenience of any kind, would doubtless gather round it for the time the parties who were capable of greatest zeal, and had the largest amount of activity in them. Cromwell and his reign of saints were worth a trial.

Such, then, with the masses of the people at large, was the position of the statesmen after the action of the 20th of April, 1653. In the midst of neither hatred nor contempt they fell ; but in general wonder, some indifference, and some sorrow. They did not slink away to their homes, nor by undignified submission purchase safety or forbearance. They were content to retire, indeed, without empty brawling, or a vain show of braggart passion. They had left deeds behind them, which, though but imperfectly developed as yet in direct action upon the personal comforts of the people, were the immortal seed of all the blessings of liberty, personal and political, which that people have since enjoyed. With such deeds on record, never to be denied or undone, they required no other defence ; and, wisely satisfied to wait till the bubble of this saint's reign had burst, and the apples of its fools' paradise had turned to their inevitable and most bitter sour, they offered none.

They found generous defenders, notwithstanding, whose voices ought to have utterance here, in connection with the actions they commemorated. For it is surely just that, by a fair exhibition of the case of this dispersed and insulted body of statesmen, the claims of Cromwell and the protectorate should be tested and

understood. Necessity was a favourite plea with the partisans of Cromwell ; it can thus only be made apparent whether that necessity existed. Granting that the government of the long parliament was as anomalous and unauthorised as that of the protectorate confessedly was, the important question remains, of the relative superiority of either, in regard to benefits conferred, or proposed to be conferred, upon the people governed. This is a question which admits of one mode of solution only. The measures that were in either case pursued, recommended, or adopted, must be impartially judged together by their tendencies and results. A present glance at the past rule of the statesmen will be the only fair and sufficient light that can guide us through the protectorate.

Mrs. Hutchinson thus generally describes the condition of the commonwealth on the eve of its fall. The whole passage is worth consideration, though it includes some points described already. It is the evidence of as gentle and brave-hearted a woman as ever suffered for truth or love. "The parliament," she says, "had now, by the blessing of God, restored the commonwealth to such a happy, rich, and plentiful condition as it was not so flourishing before the war ; and although the taxes that were paid were great, yet the people were rich and able to pay them : they (the parliament) were in a way of paying all the soldiers' arrears, had some hundred thousand pounds in their purses, and were free from enemies in arms within and without, except the Dutch, whom they had beaten and brought to seek peace upon honourable terms to the English ; and now they thought it was time to sweeten the people, and deliver them from their burthens. This could not be but by disbanding the unnecessary officers and soldiers ; and, when things were thus settled, they had prepared a bill to put a period to their own sitting, and provide for new successors. But when the great officers understood that they were to resign their honours, and no more triumph in the burthens of the people, they easily induced the

inferior officers and soldiers to set up for themselves with them ; and, while these things were passing, Cromwell, with an armed force, assisted by Lambert and Harrison, came into the house and dissolved the parliament, pulling out the members, foaming and raging, and calling them undeserved and base names ; and when the speaker refused to come out of his chair, Harrison plucked him out. These gentlemen, having done this, took to themselves the administration of all things ; *and a few slaves of the house consulted with them, and would have truckled under them, but not many.* Meanwhile they and their soldiers could no way palliate their rebellion, but by making false criminations of the parliament-men, as that they meant to perpetuate themselves in honour and office, that they had gotten vast estates, and perverted justice for gain, and were imposing upon men for conscience, and a thousand such like things, *which time manifested to be false, and truth retorted all upon themselves that they had injuriously cast at the others.*"* Mrs. Hutchinson has here considerably underrated, as will be shown hereafter, the financial resources of the commonwealth.

Edmund Ludlow, a witness whose interest in the matters he describes, great as it was, was not too great for his honesty, and whose authority has been sanctioned by even his bitterest adversaries, thus, at a distance from the scene of the dispersion of his old associates, described and mourned them. A parliament, he calls them, "that had performed such great things, *having subdued their enemies in England, Scotland, and Ireland ; established the liberty of the people ; reduced the kingdom of Portugal to such terms as they thought fit to grant ; maintained a war against the Dutch with that conduct and success, that it seemed now drawing to a happy conclusion ; recovered our reputation at sea ; secured our trade ; and provided a powerful fleet for the service of the nation.* And, however the malice of their enemies may endeavour to deprive them of the glory which

* Life of Colonel Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 197, 198.

they justly merited, yet it will appear to unprejudiced posterity that they were a disinterested and impartial parliament, who, though they had the sovereign power of the three nations in their hands for the space of ten or twelve years, *did not in all that time give away among themselves so much as their forces spent in three months ; no, not so much as they spent in one ;* from the time that the parliament consisted but of one house, and the government was formed into a commonwealth. To which ought to be added, that after so many toils and hazards, so much trouble and loss for the public good, they were not unwilling to put an end to their power, and to content themselves with an equal share with the others, for the whole reward of their labours."*

In like manner, the sincere and gallant Sidney set apart, in his noble discourses of government, a niche for the government of the commonwealth. "When Van Tromp," he says, in his high strain of chivalrous pride—"when Van Tromp set upon Blake in Folkestone Bay, the parliament had not above thirteen ships against threescore, and not a man that had ever seen any other fight at sea, than between a merchant ship and a pirate, to oppose the best captain in the world, attended with many others in valour and experience not much inferior to him. Many other difficulties were observed in the unsettled state :—few ships, want of money, several factions, and *some who, to advance particular interests, betrayed the public.* But, such was the power of wisdom and integrity in those that sat at the helm, and their diligence in chusing men only for their merit was blessed with such success, that in two years our fleets grew to be as famous as our land armies ; the reputation and power of our nation rose to a greater height than when we possessed the better half of France, and the kings of France and Scotland were our prisoners. *All the states, kings, and potentates of Europe most*

* Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 452, 453. Portions of some of these "Epitaphs" on the parliament have been given in the Life of Vane ; but the present statement of them, in a less mutilated shape, seemed necessary here.

*respectfully, not to say submissively, sought our friendship: and Rome was more afraid of Blake and his fleet, than they had been of the great king of Sweden, when he was ready to invade Italy with a hundred thousand men.**

Nor is the tone of even the cautious Whitelocke less enthusiastic than this. Writing with Cromwell's personal influence strong upon him, and with the additional restraint of an official relation to Cromwell, he yet writes in these words. "Thus was this great parliament, which had done so great things, wholly at this time routed by those whom they had set up, and that took their commissions and authority from them; nor could they in the least justify any action they had done, or one drop of blood they had spilt, but by this authority. Yet now the servants rose against their masters, and most ingratfully, and disingenuously, as well as rashly and imprudently, they dissolved that power by which themselves were created officers and soldiers; and now they took what they design'd, all power into their own hands. *All honest and prudent indifferent men were highly distasted at this unworthy action, which occasioned much rejoicing in the king's party.*†. . Thus it pleased God," he continues, "that this assembly, famous through the world for its undertakings, actions, and successes, having subdued all their enemies, were themselves overthrown and ruined by their own servants; and those whom they had raised now pulled down their masters. An example, never to be forgotten, and scarcely to be paralleled in any story, by which all persons may be instructed how uncertain and subject to change all worldly affairs are; how apt to fall, when we think

* Algernon Sidney on Government, cap. ii. sect. 28.

† This is further corroborated by even a member of the lord protector's household, and one of his enthusiastic partisans. Mr. John Maidston (whose very striking letter to a friend, descriptive of the popular struggles from their commencement to the eve of the restoration, will be found in Appendix A.) remarks upon the dissolution thus:—"Great dissatisfaction sprung from this action, and such as is not yet forgotten amongst good men." In another part of the same interesting sketch he observes, emphatically, that the English people of that day were wout "to defy their represent atives."

them highest ; and how God makes use of strange and unexpected means to bring his purposes to pass.”*

At a distance, too, from the scene of their great exertions, and uninfluenced by any of the passions which mingled with them, the politician who was thought wisest of his age withheld not his approbation and esteem. Basnage tells us, in his “*Annals of the United Provinces*,” that the famous Swedish chancellor, Oxenstiern, “blamed, indeed, the extreme barbarity committed on the person of the late king of England, but commended and admired almost every part of the plan of that great design which the parliament had formed.” “It was a design,” Oxenstiern added, “that had been conducted with distinguished prudence, and those who then governed in England acted upon such principles of policy as were founded in truth and experience.”†

Nor should the testimony of an accomplished foreign writer be omitted in this record. “The new republic,” says the abbe Raynal, in his “*History of the Parliament of England*,” “procured England a tranquillity which it no longer hoped for, and gave it a lustre which it had not had for several centuries. It had just been agitated by a most violent tempest, and now all was calm ; it had thought itself on the brink of ruin, and was now in condition to give law. It is melancholy, for the honour of virtue, that one of the best and greatest spectacles which the annals of nations present should be the work of rebellion. Every thing appeared wonderful in this revolution. The royalists conformed to a kind of government ill adapted to their tempers, and disapproved by their consciences. The grandees, accustomed to the part of legislators, remained quietly in the rank of private subjects. The Irish and Scots,

* *Memorials*, p. 529, 530.

† This is mentioned by M. Chanut, both in the appendix to *Keyser's Travels*, and in *Basnage's* book. See *Puffendorf's* observations on the resolution of the last Swedish diet, &c. in the appendix to *Keyser's Travels*, vol. iv. p. 51, and *Basnage's Annals of the United Provinces*, vol. i. p. 243. See also *Harris's Life of Cromwell*, p. 316.

who had taken up arms, the first from an attachment to their kings, the other to efface the horror of their treachery, were unhappily subdued. The Dutch, who had taken advantage of the calamities of England, to usurp the empire of the seas, were humbled. France and Spain, who had been always rivals, always enemies, meanly courted the friendship of the usurpers. The sovereigns, who ought to have united to revenge an outrage to which all kings were exposed, either through fear or interest applauded the injustice. All Europe debased itself, was silent, or admired."

Finally, even their enemies were awed from insult into praise, in the presence of that gigantic memory their actions left behind them. Roger Coke not only lays aside his customary bitterness and scorn, but adopts a striking tone of just and reverential respect. "Thus *," he says, "by their own mercenary servants, and not a sword drawn in their defence, fell the haughty and victorious rump, *whose mighty actions will scarcely find belief in future generations.* And, to say the truth, they were a race of men, *most indefatigable and industrious in business, always seeking for men fit for it, and never preferring any for favour, nor by importunity.* You scarce ever heard of any revolting from them; no murmur or complaint of seamen or soldiers. *Nor do I find that they ever pressed any in all their wars.* And, as they excelled in the management of civil affairs, so it must be owned they exercised in matters ecclesiastic no such severities as either the covenanters or others before them did, upon such as dissented from them. *Nor were they less forward in reforming the abuses of the common law.*"

And now a brief sketch of the measures by which these statesmen made themselves so famous will show how well they merited even this lofty praise.

Finance was necessarily a subject which largely employed their attention and taxed their powers, in consequence of the unceasing wars, by land or sea, in which

* Detection of the Court and State of England, vol. ii. p. 50.

the commonwealth was engaged. The chief sources of revenue were five: the excise; the customs; the sale of fee-farm rents*, of the lands of the crown, and of those belonging to the bishops, deans, and chapters; the sequestration and forfeiture of the estates of delinquents; and, finally, the post-office. For the establishment of the latter we are indebted to Edmund Prideaux†, who held the office of attorney-general to the commonwealth at the period of its destruction. We first observe him chairman of a committee for considering what rates should be set upon inland letters; then, by an ordinance passed shortly before the death of the king, we find him created postmaster-general; and, finally, we see, by a report on the journals of the house, dated the 21st of March, 1650, that he had established a weekly conveyance of letters into all parts of the nation, and kept up a regular intercourse of packets between England and Ireland.

The introduction of the system of excise, by Pym, has been referred to in this work. It was borrowed from the financial proceedings of Holland, and worked with most consummate skill during the wars with that republic. And here I am tempted to borrow from the historian of the commonwealth‡ the only intelligible definition of excise that has occurred to my reading. Excise, it may be stated on that authority, is a tax upon the manufacture of a commodity, paid by the manufacturer; also, on the importation of goods, upon which, if manufactured at home, an excise duty would be required; an equivalent sum in that case being demanded from the importer. The retailer of excisable commodities has likewise in many cases to pay for an annual licence. It is a tax, for many reasons, well adapted for popular imposition. It differs from the

* The clear annual income from this source amounted to 77,000*l.*; and we find that, in January, 1651, 25,300*l.* of this income had been sold for 225,650*l.*—*Lingard*, vol. ii. p. 176.

† The youngest son of sir Edmund Prideaux of Devonshire, created a baronet by James I.—*Prince's Worthies of Devon*, p. 508.

‡ Godwin, vol. iii. p. 489.

duty denominated customs in this, that the latter, being paid upon the exportation or importation of commodities, will often fall on the raw material, whereas the former is only collected upon a commodity ready for sale to the consumer. It is therefore peculiarly distinguished by its being imposed at the latest practicable period, and is in that sense the most economical of all taxes. The earlier any impost is paid, the heavier it falls upon the consumer in the end; since every trader through whose hands the commodity passes must have a profit, not only upon the raw material, and his own labour and time, but also upon the tax itself, which is paid by him long before he is remunerated by the consumer. Notwithstanding which, it has been observed, that the duties earliest paid are least felt by the people, the merchant being sensible that they do not eventually and in the last result fall upon him, and the consumer being induced to confound them with the intrinsic price of the commodity. But this very circumstance renders customs, and duties imposed on the raw material, taxes for slaves; and an excise, or a duty on goods already prepared for consumption, a tax for men who feel that what they pay for is a substantial benefit to themselves. When men are contending for their liberties and every thing that is dear to them, they are prepared to make great sacrifices; and such a people, as Montesquieu says, will frequently take on themselves, of voluntary choice, imposts more severe than the most arbitrary prince would dare to lay on his subjects. Another objection that is frequently made to the duty of excise is the severity of its collection, since it is found necessary to give to its officers a power of entering into and searching the houses of those who deal in the commodities on which it is laid, at any hour of the day, and sometimes of the night. But this objection is of the same description as the preceding. "Undoubtedly," Mr. Godwin proceeds, "a softer and more forbearing mode of treatment may be attained in a mixed than in a republican government. In the former the individual

is more considered ; in the latter, the public. He who is not contented to sacrifice, in a certain degree, his individuality, and some of his indulgences, to the well-being of the whole, is not yet sufficiently prepared to become a citizen under the purest and noblest kind of political administration.”*

Great financial ability, it is obvious, was the first condition of success in the vast struggle. Without that, the entire amount of other genius developed in military or civil matters would have been little better than useless and unprofitable. In the various deliberations that arose on a subject so important, it was impossible that its furtherance by means of sequestration could be in any way avoided. And this is a part of the policy of these statesmen which is most frequently remembered to their disadvantage.† Let it be fairly looked at,

* Mr. Godwin intimates, that the substance of this passage was communicated to him by his friend Booth, the mathematician. It will be curious to subjoin Blackstone's definition of excise, adopted in all the encyclopædias, as a puzzle for the reader's ingenuity. “Excise,” he says, “is an inland imposition, paid sometimes upon the consumption of the commodity, or frequently upon the retail sale, which is the last stage before the consumption.”—*Com. b. 1. cap. viii.*

† This, and another favourite charge, already indignantly repelled by the great authorities I have quoted ; namely, that of a desire they always manifested of filling their own pockets, and enriching their poor estates with the wealth of others. A charge which might be dismissed with silent contempt, if silent contempt were at any time a serviceable thing. It rests on lists published by the sour and disappointed presbyterian, Clement Walker, subsequently embodied in a tract against the “rump,” (published in the auspicious era of the restoration, and entitled the “Mystery of the Good Old Cause Unfolded,”) and finally adopted by such historians as Clarendon and Hume. Walker's lists were called “Lists of Names of Members of the House of Commons, annexing to each such sums of money, offices, and lands, as they had given to themselves for service done and to be done against the king and kingdom.” Mr. Godwin has pointed out, in his distinctions between the two self-denying ordinances, (see *Life of Vane*, p. 96.) the gross mistake, or more properly falsehood, on which these lists were made out. Their compiler's object was to collect a list of the names of such as held offices, as he says, “contrary to the self-denying ordinance.” Now it has already appeared that there were two self-denying ordinances ; and it has been the artifice of the enemies of the commonwealth's men to confound these two together. The first ordinance forbade any member of either house of parliament from bearing any office, civil or military, during the war. This ordinance was proposed in the house of commons on the 9th of December, 1644, and was rejected by the lords on the 13th of January following. A second self-denying ordinance was then brought in, and passed into a law on the 3d of April, 1645. This was essentially a temporary measure, and extended no further than the discharging members of either house of parliament from the offices they then held, without so much as forbidding their reappointment. The question with Clement Walker and his fellows was, whether the members

and it is far from that of which they or their friends should be ashamed.

They enacted, at the commencement of the war, a seizure of the revenues of the estates of such as openly appeared in arms against them, or voluntarily contributed to the support of the king's forces ; and this was an act, all the circumstances considered, justified by the demands of the time. The only fair ground of objection to it must surely rest on the mode in which it was carried into effect, and on the strict and virtuous application of the funds so raised. These, indeed, are the chief points of attack selected by the enemy. Hollis boldly affirms that the style of proceeding under the sequestration committees was like that of Ahab in the case of Naboth's vineyard, which coveting, and not being able otherwise to obtain, he "suborned certain men, sons of Belial, to bear witness against Naboth, saying, 'Thou didst blaspheme God and the king ;' and thus destroyed the proprietor, and got possession of the property." To which Clement Walker adds, "You may as easily find charity in hell as justice in any committee ; so that, where the king hath taken down

of the house of commons were not bound in delicacy to conform to the law, which they had passed and the lords had rejected. This idea, however, was set aside, not covertly and clandestinely, but in the most open manner. When it was determined, in autumn 1645, to recruit the house of commons by issuing writs for new elections in the room of those members who had deserted their seats by adhering to the king, Fairfax, Blake, Ludlow, Algernon Sydney, John Sturges, Masson, and Hutchinson, some of the most considerable citizens, returned to occupy the vacant ms the most considerable part of that in the "Mystery of the Good Old Cause," contains names which can by no construction be considered as those of corrupt placemen. Twenty-one persons are put down merely because they were at one and the same time members of parliament and colonels in the army. Blake, Dean, and Rainsborough appear for no reason but because they were admirals. Algernon Sydney, and six others, because they were the commanders of garrisons ; Strickland, because he was an ambassador ; and sir William Armine, because he was a commissioner in Scotland. It was expressly provided by the second self-denying ordinance, that the commissioners of the great seal, and the commissioners of the admiralty, navy, and revenue, should not even be disturbed in their places ; yet their names swell the list. It includes some of the most notorious presbyterians, Hollis, sir John Merrick, and sir William Waller. It includes Hampden. Finally, it is worth notice, in completion of the false pretences on which this charge against the statesmen was grounded, that the lists which furnish the chief material of slander were drawn up and published before the triumph of the independents and the death of the king.

one star-chamber, the parliament hath set up a hundred." It stamps the character of these scurril libels*, when we state simply, without any other comment, that these men, Hollis and Clement Walker, were among the chief authors of the system of sequestration, and only clamoured against it thus, when baffled spleen, and disappointed ambition, and hatred against the men who had triumphantly finished the work which they had basely deserted, drove them to seek shelter once more under the monster-covering gabardine of royalty.

The first measure on the subject was passed in the shape of an ordinance, in March, 1643, when committees of sequestration were appointed in the counties, cities, and different places of England, to conduct the business in a regular and orderly manner. Two thirds of the revenues of all Roman catholics were, by the same ordinance, included in the sequestration. And, upon the construction and conduct of these committees for the various counties, and whether their manner of proceeding was in truth "regular and orderly," the question would seem to turn.

Of their general character, some idea may be formed by a few of the chief names that are to be found in all of them. Lord Fairfax, for example; his son, sir Thomas, the great general; the resolute, but most just, Pym; the virtuous Hampden; the witty and good-humoured Marten; the gallant Blake; the mild, and, by his own showing, the mercy loving Hollis (!); the formal and scrupulous Whitelocke; Widdrington, Stapleton, Gerrard; and others of position as high, and of motives as unquestioned. Of their manner of proceeding, it also happens most fortunately, that we have evidence yet more decisive. Their absolute records, sup-

* In another passage of his memoirs, Hollis says, "Now I appeal to all men, who they were that had the hand in making all those penal ordinances, so severe for sequestrations, so high for compositions, so misnaming and bloody for making new treasons, and little things to be capital crimes; that no man almost was safe, free from question, and few or none were questioned but were sure to be destroyed. What committees were set up! That of Haberdashers' Hall, to pill and poll men, even fetching in some members of the house to whom they had a displeasure, and generally all men who had crossed or opposed them in any thing."

posed for some time to have been lost, have of late been most happily recovered, and are deposited in the state-paper office. They consist of several hundred volumes, which exhibit not merely the names of the delinquents and catholics through the kingdom, with the particulars and value of their respective properties, but also the nature of the acts of delinquency severally charged against them, by which each person was brought within the scope of some or other of the provisions of the several ordinances. To these are added, the grounds upon which the alleged delinquents ask to be admitted to compound (for all those in whose case there were any mitigating circumstances, were allowed to pay a fine for their indiscretions, instead of losing their entire revenue) ; the depositions of witnesses examined as to the truth of these statements ; and the reasons for indemnity or allowances in respect to particular items, offered by the different claimants ; together with the entire proceedings upon each man's forfeiture or composition. It is not thus, the historian of the commonwealth may well observe, that acts of wanton spoliation and violence are conducted. He adds, with good reason, that, however severe was the execution of these ordinances of sequestration, all was proceeded in regularly, with the forms of justice, and under sanction of the venerable name of law.* The right of appeal was given to every one who found himself aggrieved ; a right perpetually exercised, and, therefore, we may be well assured, not nugatory or fruitless. All the money raised under these ordinances was strictly required to be paid into the hands of the treasurers at Guildhall, from whence it was again issued for the pay and subsistence of the army, and for such other uses as the parliament should direct. With these statements the whole subject may be confidently left to an honest and impartial judgment.†

* Godwin's Commonwealth, vol. iii. p. 495, 496.

† The only act in these confiscations which seems to me to deserve any part of the extreme censure applied to them was the sale of the earl of Craven's estate. Though the earl had been out of England during the war, his estate

Passing from the subject of finance to those higher questions which involve the freedom and independence of man, the claims of these famous statesmen to eternal gratitude and honour become apparent indeed. They settled, upon a basis never to be disputed more, the right of every Englishman, in all grades of life, to his writ of *habeas corpus*; by the exercise of which, if on any pretence cast into prison, he could demand to be brought before the judges of the land, to ascertain the cause of his imprisonment; if with any charge of crime accused, he could insist that the accusation against him should be put into the way of trial with all convenient speed; or, supposing no satisfactory answer were given in either case, he had then the great privilege of insisting upon his right to immediate liberation.*

Scarcely less important than this was their settlement of the tenure by which the judges — arbiters of law between man and man, of justice between sovereign and subject — should in all time to come hold their solemn office. The condition of the old and corrupt system, *durante bene placito*, was overthrown by the introduction of letters patent with the stipulation of *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. The working of the old system, thus beneficially changed for ever, is aptly described by Neal, in his "History of the Puritans." "The judges," he says, "were generally of a stamp, that, instead of upholding the law as the defence and security of the subjects' privileges, they set it aside on every little occasion, distinguishing between a rule of law and a rule of government. They held their places during the king's pleasure; and, when the prerogative

was sold, on the ground of his having had personal correspondence with Charles Stuart abroad. This was an indefensible action; but it is just to remember, that this was an action not only undefended, but strenuously opposed, by many of the most virtuous and eminent members of the house. The division was a singularly narrow one; the majority which carried the confiscation and sale was *two only*, and Vane, always on the side of kindness and humanity, was teller for the minority. Haselrig (who appears for the majority), and the less considerate politicians of the house, unwisely and unjustly, but there is no reason to believe dishonestly, carried their point thus closely against him — See *Journals*, 22d of June, 1652.

* This *habeas corpus* enactment formed the main part of the act for taking away the star-chamber.

was to be stretched in any particular instance, Laud would send for their opinions beforehand, to give the greater sanction to the proceedings of the council and the star-chamber, by whom they were often put in mind, that, if they did not do the king's business to satisfaction, they would be removed."*

With the destruction of that infamous power, a memorable lesson was taught for ever. One of the judges, who had debased himself by trampling law and justice under his feet, was publicly dragged from the bench he had degraded, and, still clad in his soiled and spotted ermine, was taken through the open streets to prison.† And as with lawyers who had overthrown law, so also with bishops who had corrupted religion. All ranks, including royalty itself, were made amenable to Truth, and bowed perforce before it. The crown was for all time to come restrained from arbitrary taxation; all irregular or despotic practices against property or freedom were abolished‡; every state criminal, unjust monopolist, fraudulent patentee, were unshrinkingly struck down; and in the bill for triennial parliaments, and other measures, which were afterwards lost for a time in the unexpected results of the war, the shattered fabric of the old constitution of limited monarchy was consolidated and restored.

The next great act to be specially commemorated has been described by Blackstone as "a greater acquisition to the civil property of the kingdom than even magna charta itself."§ This was the abolition of the court of wards, and of all those tenures which were the subject of its jurisdiction. Wardship was a part of the old feudal system. All landed property, according

* Book II. cap. iii.

† This was sir Robert Berkeley. See Whitelocke, p. 59.: the Life of Pym, p. 140.

‡ The act they passed against impressment elicits the unqualified praise of Hallam (Const. Hist. vol. ii. p. 157.), and the famous enactment in their tonnage and poundage bill is well known: — "that it is and hath been the ancient right of the subjects of this realm, that no subsidy, custom, impost, or other charge whatsoever, ought or may be laid or imposed upon any merchandise exported or imported by subjects, denizens, or aliens, without common consent in parliament."

§ Commentaries, book II. cap. 5.

to that system, began with the king. He distributed his domains among his feudal tenants, or, in other words, the officers of his army, and they in return were obliged to serve him in his wars with a stipulated number of followers. But in this obligation it was implied, that the tenant in chief should be capable of military service. There were two cases where this could not happen: first, where the heir was a female, or, secondly, was a minor. It became, therefore, the established law under this system, that the king could dispose of the female heir in marriage as he pleased, and that he received the whole produce of the estate during a minority. It is easy to see how this prerogative would be abused. "It was intended merely to prevent the damage the king might sustain by the loss of the stipulated military service. It grew into a resource by which he might feed the rapacity of his hungry courtiers. To an idle and insinuating favourite he had the undisputed prerogative of giving a great heiress in marriage; or to an individual of that character he might give the wardship of a minor, in consequence of which the receiver entered into absolute possession of the produce of an estate, with no other duty in return, than that he must provide in some way for the subsistence and education of the heir." * And as the uses of the court of wards had grown into such gross abuse, so the military services themselves, out of which it rose, had long, as the feudal system gradually declined, been compounded and exchanged for a different species of payment, though still under the same name and pretence, and rendered sources of cruelty, tyranny, and oppression in every kind of shape.

Both enormities were struck down together by the leaders of the long parliament. A resolution of the house, dated the 24th of February, 1646, declared that the court of wards, and all tenures by homage and knight's service, with all fines, licences, seizures, pardons for alienation, and other charges arising from such

* Godwin's Commonwealth, vol. iii. p. 500.

tenures, should from that day be taken away. Cromwell found this resolution on the journals in the protectorate, and prudently turned it into a regular act of parliament, which, with additional clauses, was re-enacted after the restoration. Blackstone remarks, of the various benefits conferred by this law, that, in its indirect operation, "it opened a wider door to the power of bequeathing property generally than had previously subsisted. By a statute of Henry VIII., all persons were empowered to bequeath two thirds of their lands held in feudal tenure, and the whole of such as were not subjected to such services; and the present law, abolishing all such tenures, gave, by consequence, an unlimited power to the possessor of landed property, under certain restrictions, to dispose of the whole by will as he pleased." *

Their noble efforts in the great cause of religious toleration claim grateful mention next. They first established in the policy of the state, that greatest human privilege, that every man should be free to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience. Enactments followed as a natural consequence, that, whenever a certain number of men agreed to worship their maker after a given mode, they should consider themselves at liberty to choose their own preacher and officers to their churches, and to arrange, without interference or molestation, all their selected ceremonies and forms.

Mr. Godwin has selected from the journals of the house of commons† the chief legislative provisions on this subject. The most remarkable appears to have been an act of the 27th of September, 1650, which repealed various acts of Elizabeth, whose professed object had been to establish throughout England an uniformity of religious faith and worship. The chief of these acts were, 1 Elizabeth, chapter 2., commonly called the act of uniformity; and 23 Elizabeth, chapter 1., and 35 Elizabeth, chapter 1.; each of them entitled "An Act for

* Blackstone, book ii. chap. 23. Godwin, vol. iii. p. 303.

† Vol. iii. p. 504.

retaining the Queen's Subjects in their due Obedience." The last of these is the most memorable. It ordains, among other things, that whoever shall be convicted before a magistrate of absenting himself (or herself) from the established church for one month shall be detained in prison till he conforms; or, if after three months he persists in his nonconformity, shall be required to abjure the realm of England, and shall transport himself out of the country accordingly; or lastly, if he refuses to abjure, or, abjuring, does not transport himself, or, having departed the realm, shall return, shall be adjudged a felon, and shall suffer accordingly. All these gross provisions disappeared before the wise and more humane policy of the independent leaders of our great parliament, who provided a full toleration* for every form of religion, with the exception of prelacy, necessarily excluded by its political tendencies, and popery, which Vane and a few others had, however, struggled hard to procure the toleration of also.†

* This toleration, of course, did not interfere with the revenues of the church, out of which every minister, duly appointed to a living, received the income thereto belonging.

† Dr Lingard mentions a petition from catholic recusants, presented to the house on the 30th of June, 1632, in which they solicit such indulgence "as might be thought consistent with the public peace, and their comfortable subsistence in their native country." The petition, says Lingard, "was read; sir Harry Vane spoke in its favour; but the house was deaf to the voice of reason and humanity." Vane's equally generous and gallant, but more successful, exertions in behalf of Biddle, the father of English unitarians, have been related in this work; but Mr. Godwin has a remark on the motives of the men who opposed Vane on these points which should not, in fairness, be omitted. Speaking of "his first release, being again committed to Bradshaw," he thus proceeds:—"We are to be once more committed to custody, by an order from Bradshaw, whom Biddle's biographer designates as his mortal enemy. What is the precise truth on the subject I have not been able to discover. If he were committed by a warrant from Bradshaw, it is very probable that this statesman signed it officially only, as president of the council. But I have been able to ascertain that he had no objection to signing it. He had what severs each, which few have done; yet it is but just that we should distinguish between one species of persecutor and another. The episcopalians and the presbyterians persecuted, having for their object religious uniformity, and being determined, to the extent of their power, that only one creed should be known through the land. Bradshaw, if he were a persecutor, certainly agreed with his brother independents in a free allowance of varieties of religious opinion, and had no wish to enslave the energies of mind to a vain effort after uniformity, but had the weakness to

The limits they imposed to this system of toleration will scarcely find favour in many eyes ; but it is just to give them here, with the remark, that various circumstances of the time had rendered them well-nigh needful. A bill was passed in 1651 with a view to correct certain extravagancies in the professors of religion. There was a sect who had taken to themselves the name of ranters. The parliament appointed a committee to consider of the suppression of the "obscene, licentious, and impious practices" used by these persons. A law was, in consequence, made for the "punishment of atheistical, blasphemous, and execrable opinions." The crimes condemned by this act are, — for any person, not under the influence of sickness or distraction, to affirm of him or herself, or of any other mere creature, that he is God ; or that the acts of uncleanness and the like are not forbidden by God ; or that lying, stealing, and fraud, or murder, adultery, fornication, sodomy, drunkenness, profane swearing, and lascivious talk, are in their own nature as holy and righteous as the duties of prayer, preaching, or thanksgiving ; or that there is no such thing as unrighteousness and sin, but as a man or woman judges thereof. The punishment of these crimes is, for the first offence, six months' imprisonment ; and for any subsequent conviction, to abjure the dominions of the commonwealth ; and, in case of return, to suffer death as a felon. The only qualification of the severity is, that the party shall be indicted within six months of his having committed the alleged offence*, — a provision which serves well to show the still prevailing sense of equity and fairness which presided over what would seem the harshest measures of these statesmen.

Their acts of toleration in matters of religion were at the same time accompanied with a declared resolution,

be shocked at what he thought blasphemous opinions, and to hold it his duty by the civil arm to counteract so dire a contagion." Biddle was finally set free in February, 1652. I have elsewhere urged what fairly rectifies in extenuation of the non-tolerance of popery, in the memoirs of Eliot and Pryn.

* Godwin's Commonwealth, vol. iii. p. 507, 508.

adopted from one of the army petitions, that, while they were favourable to liberty of conscience, they did not desire that the least indulgence should be shown to licentiousness or profaneness. And accordingly a bill was brought in, in the beginning of 1651, and shortly after passed into a law, for the suppression of incest, adultery, and fornication. The punishment of the two former, an exception being made of the case of a woman whose husband should have been three years absent, (adultery in this act is understood to relate to a woman in the state of marriage,) was ordered to be death. And the punishment of fornication was three months' imprisonment. Every keeper of a brothel was also made liable, for the first offence, to be whipped and branded, and, for the second, to suffer death as a felon.* When these acts were passed, however, Vane and Marten both predicted, in opposition to them, that the severity of the punishment would defeat the purpose of the law — a prediction confirmed so fully that, in consequence of Marten's continued agitation of the subject, the severities were afterwards relaxed.

And be it not forgotten, in this detail, that measures of lawreform, to a very large and various extent, were in deliberation at the period of Cromwell's act of tyranny. They had passed, on the 8th of November, 1651, a memorable measure, which was understood to be only the forerunner of several others†, that the books of law already written and in force should be translated into English‡; that all law books in future should be written in English; and that all law proceedings should be conducted in the English language.§ What would have followed in furtherance of their great design on this head,

* Godwin, vol. iii. p. 506.

† See Journals of May 10 November 22. 1651. Whitelocke, p. 460. Lingard's History, vol. xi. p. 175

‡ The exact terms of the resolution were, "That all report books of the resolution of judges, and other books of the law of England, shall be translated into the English tongue, and all writs, processes, and returns thereof, pleadings, rules, orders, indictments, injunctions, certificates, patents, and all acts, deeds, and proceedings whatsoever, shall be only in the English tongue, in the ordinary usual hand, and not in court hand."

§ On this question (which, before it was carried, provoked a "very long and smart debate," in which debate, we are likewise told, many "spoke in derogation and dishonour of law," and the necessity of its reform) White-

(frequently declared, in emphatic phrase,) to make the law more simple, and, by means of a better promulgation, to abridge its powers of ensnaring the people who were called on to obey it, was checked by their forcible dispersion to be again resumed, indeed, as we shall see, by the next assemblage of men who sat in their house; but only to be again arrested, by a second dispersion of legislators, who refused to be made the direct tools of tyranny.

He delivered a speech on the origin and character of the English laws, vindicating their Saxon birth from the reproach of having been imposed upon the land by William the Norman, which, for its singularly argumentative character, and wonderful minuteness of research, must always be considered a stupendous monument of antiquarian and legal learning. He concluded thus—the entire speech may be found in his own memorials, p. 150—155 —“ But, Mr Speaker, if I have been tedious, I humbly ask your pardon, and have the more hopes to obtain it from so many worthy English gentlemen, when that which I have said was chiefly in vindication of their own native laws, unto which I held myself the more obliged by the duty of my profession, and I account it an honour to me to be a lawyer. As to the debate and matter of the act now before you, I have delivered no opinion against it; nor do I think it reasonable that the generality of the people of England should, by an implicit faith, depend upon the knowledge of others in that which concerns them most of all. It was the Romish policy to keep them in ignorance of matters pertaining to their soul's health, let them not be in ignorance of matters pertaining to their bodies, estate, and all their worldly comfort. It is not unreasonable that the law should be in that language which may best be understood by those whose lives and fortunes are subject to it, and are to be governed by it. Moses read all the laws openly before the people in their mother tongue. God directed him to write it, and to expound it to the people in their own native language, that what concerned their lives, liberties, and estates, might be made known unto them in the most perspicuous way. The laws of the eastern nations were in their proper tongue; the laws at Constantinople were in Greek; at Rome in Latin, in France, Spain, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and other nations, their laws are published in their native tongue. For our own country, there is no man that can read the Saxon character but may find the laws of your ancestors yet extant in the English tongue. Duke William himself commanded the laws to be proclaimed in English, that none might pretend ignorance of them. It was the judgment of the parliament, 36 Edward III., that pleadings should be in English; and in the reigns of those kings, when our statutes were enrolled in French and English, yet then the sheriffs in their several counties were to proclaim them in English. I shall conclude with a complaint of what I have met with abroad from some military persons; nothing but scolds and invectives against our law, and threats to take it away: but the law is above the reach of those weapons which, at one time or another, will return upon those that use them. Solid arguments, strong reasons, and authorities, are more fit for confutation of any error, and satisfaction of different judgments. When the emperor took a bishop in complete armour in a battle, he sent the armour to the pope with this word, *Hæc sunt vestes filii tui* so may I say to those gentlemen abroad as to their railings, taunts, and threats, against the law, *Hæc sunt vestes filii tui* They will be found of no force, but generous or prudent for Englishmen to deprave of their own country. But to return to the matter in debate: I can find neither strangeness, nor foresee greivance re, if the house shall thus I am ready to give my

Finally, it be comes us to speak of the strictly administrative genius of these statesmen, dispersed by Cromwell and his muskets as idle and incapable! unclean birds, that had, by insolent success, been unfairly perched upon fortune's top! slugs, that preyed upon the vitals of the commonwealth!

History, even as history is commonly written, has not dared to dispute that, during the whole period of their supremacy, they upheld with unceasing dignity and spirit the national honour. They made the arms of England the terror of the world abroad, as they had made the engines of their government the terror of enemies at home; and it was from them, and from them alone, that Cromwell inherited the respect and awe of the whole continent of Europe. They had declared that they would not rest till they had vindicated and asserted the ancient right of their country to the sovereignty of the seas; nor did they rest till it was done. They sought even to interest the commonest people in this proud achievement, and with that view circulated, by thousands, a translation, made at their expense and suggestion, of Selden's *Mare Clausum, seu, Dominio Maris*.^{*} This alone would declare them

^{*} Marchamont Needham was the translator, and the book was published, by special command, in November, 1652. In an admirable dedication to the "Parliament of the Commonwealth of England," the translator, after observing that "it is a gallant sight to see the sword and pen in victorious equipage together; for this subdues the souls of men by reason, that only their bodies by force," thus spiritedly proceeds:—"What true English heart will not swell, when it shall be made clear and evident (as in this book) that the sovereignty of the seas, flowing about this island, hath, in all times whercof there remains any written testimony, both before the old Roman invasion, and since, under every revolution, down to the present age, been held and acknowledged by all the world as an inseparable appendant of the British empire; and that, by virtue thereof, the kings of England successively have had the sovereign guard of the seas; that they have imposed taxes and tributes upon all ships passing and fishing therein; that they have obstructed and opened the passage thereof to strangers, at their own pleasure, and done all other things that may testify an absolute

these things, together, your public declaration to their insolence, that these people, raised out of the dust at first into a state of liberty, and at length to a high degree of power and felicity, by the arms and benevolence of England,—that they, who, in times past, durst never enter our seas to touch a herring, without licence first obtained by petition from the governor of Scarborough castle, should now presume to invade them with armed fleets, and, by a most unjust war, bid defiance to the united powers of these three nations."

no ordinary or selfish men. They were the authors, too, be it remembered, of the famous navigation act*, afterwards passed into our statute books as one of the grandest sources of England's unrivalled commercial greatness, and only recently abandoned for those more philosophical views of trade it was chiefly instrumental in producing. They projected also, and went far towards accomplishing, the union between Scotland and England.† They placed in their service men of the greatest genius, in various

* The preamble to this act (passed on the 9th of October, 1651) was short, but most expressive. It runs thus: — "For the increase of the shipping and encouragement of: ch, under the good providence and protec the welfare and safety of this common : this gives the following summary, from Scobell's collections, of the clauses in this famous act. They are "that no goods shall be imported from Asia, Africa, or America but in English ships, under the penalty of forfeiture of the said goods and ships: nor from any part of Europe, except in such vessels as belong to the people of that country of which the goods are the growth or manufacture, under the like penalty: that no salt fish, whale-fins, or oil, should be imported, but what were caught or made by the people of England: nor no salt fish to be exported, or carried from one port to another in this nation, but in English vessels, under the like penalty: but commodities from the Levant seas, the East Indies, the ports of Spain or Portugal, might be imported from the usual ports or places of trading used heretofore, though the said commodities were not the very growth of the said places. The act did not extend to bulhon or prize goods, nor to silk or silk wares, brought by land from Italy to Ostend, Amsterdam, Newport, Rotterdam, Middleburgh, provided the owners and proprietors, being of the English commonwealth, first made oath by themselves, or other credible witnesses, that the goods were bought with the proceeds of English commodities, sold either for money or in barter."

Child says of the act in his celebrated worktion," he remarks, "deserves to be called own part," he adds, "I am of opinion that, in relation to trade, shipping, profit, and power, it is one of the choicest and most prudent acts that ever was made in England; and without which we had not now been owners of one half of the shipping, nor trade, nor employed one half of the seamen, which we do at present."

† The towards accomplishing this great design have been taken into account. "The English pretended commonwealth," he says, "having reduced the whole nation of Scotland and Ireland, they having a great calm of peace and tranquillity, they fell upon a project (though practised by usurpers, and men who had great fears, because of their great crimes, and of much care and diligence, because of their future danger to be brought to condign punishment) to unite all the three nations into one government, and to meet in one parliament, a work which they did effect by the pres elected dep memory, II. (whom to the peace that can be imagined."

departments of the state, that, since their day, have been produced by our nation ; they patronised, without ceasing, literature and learned men ; they declared, on assuming power, that they would neither write to other states, nor receive answers, but in the tongue which was common to all countries, and fittest to record great things, the subject of future history. They first employed, in the service of England, the thoughts and the pen of Milton, even in that day the greatest of her living children ; they presented a thousand pounds to him on the publication of his " Answer to Salmasius ;" they appointed him Latin secretary to the commonwealth ; they gave him the means of entertaining foreign ministers on their arrival in England, and of welcoming first, at his own table though at the public charge, the visits of eminent strangers who brought with them the reputation of wisdom or of learning.* They showed, in like manner, true respect for whatever had a good and legitimate object : they enriched the universities, and, having voted a resolution against the principle of tithes, they placed upon a most equal and commendable footing the revenues of the clergy of the state.† Cer-

* Toland says, on this point, that Milton " was allowed a weekly table by the parliament, for the entertainment of foreign ministers, especially such as came from protestant states, and for the learned ; which allowance was afterwards continued by Cromwell."

† The bishops, it is known, were at an early period excluded from the house of lords, but it was not till October 9th, 1646, that an ordinance of both houses abolished their office, and settled their lands and possessions upon trustees, for the use of the commonwealth. A second ordinance, bearing date the 3rd of October, 1648, ordered " the trustees to give warrants to the treasurers for the issuing out and paying of the rents and revenues of parsonages, impropriate tithes, oblations, obventions, pensions, portions of tithes, parsonages, and vicarages, as have been or shall be received by the said treasurers, and have not otherwise been disposed of, for the maintenance of ministers, to such person or persons respectively to whom the said rents and revenues have been or shall be ordered or assigned by the committee for plundered ministers, for augmentation of maintenance for officiating in any church or chapel in England and Wales." This was the last enactment on the subject previous to the commonwealth. We observe, however, that on the 5th of April, 1649 an act was passed " for the abolishing of deans and chapters, canons, prebends, and other officers and titles, of or belonging to any cathedral or collegiate church or chapel within England or Wales." The plea put forth in the preamble to this bill was the very sufficient one of necessity—nor, indeed, a plea at all unreasonable when all the circumstances are considered. " Having seriously weighed," say its enactors, " the necessity of raising a present supply of money for the present safety of this commonwealth, and finding that their other securities are not satisfactory to lenders, nor sufficient to raise so considerable a sum as will be necessary for the said service, are necessitated

tain it is, moreover, that in all they applied themselves to (their object in all, even when mistaken most, being still the advancement of the welfare of England) they distinguished themselves by indefatigable perseverance and unwearying toil.* And then, to crown and con-

to sell the lands of the deans and chapters, and for the raising of 200,000*l.* for the uses of the commonwealth, do enact, that, notwithstanding the urgent necessity, were not to be sold under twelve years' purchase, though the lands of the bishops had been allowed to be sold for ten: not a bad price, considering the high interest of money, at this time about eight *per cent*, and recollecting the possibility also of the lands being one time or other reclaimed by their former possessors. I now come to the equal and sufficient revenues alluded to in the text. Out of the lands thus appointed to be sold, a subsequent act of the 8th of June, 1649, excepted expressly "all tithes appropriate, oblations, obventions, portions of tithes appropriate, of or belonging to the archbishops, bishops, deans, and deans and chapters, all which, together with 20,000*l.* yearly rent, formerly belonging to the crown of England, the commons thought fit to be settled for a competent maintenance of preaching ministers, where it was wanting, in England and Wales." This competent maintenance was 100*l.* a year, equally awarded to the state preachers. Nothing, at the same time, was taken from the rectories, which, whatever their revenue might be, were preserved entire. This system, founded on justice and common sense, worked admirably; nor, it may be safely added, will any church, whether voluntary or of the state, work to the satisfaction of its ministers, or of the people it should be designed to benefit, till it is taken from the temptation of too much wealth on the one hand, and the degradation of too much poverty on the other. What I have said in the text on the subject of the universities claims a concluding word. One of the enactments supplementary to the foregoing ordered, "That the trustees, in whose hands the dean and chapter lands were vested for the use of the public, shall, from time to time, pay, out of the above-mentioned 20,000*l.*, 2000*l.* yearly, for the increase of the maintenance of the master-ships of colleges in both universities, where maintenance is wanting, regard being to be had unto the number of houses of learning in each university that are fit to have an increase of maintenance; and to make an assignment of maintenance unto them accordingly, provided it do not exceed 100*l.* per annum to any one of them." Nor was this bounty ill rewarded. The names of Cudworth, Whitecote, Wilkins, and many others, bear witness to the quality of intellect the universities of the commonwealth produced; — men who educated and gave to the world the Tillotsons and Barrows. As to the general patronage bestowed by the statesmen on literature and learned men, it is only needful to add to the names of Milton, Needham, and others, those of Marvel and the two Parkers. I had well nigh forgotten to state, too, that on the 15th of June, 1651, a committee appointed by these accomplished and truly "liberal" statesmen reported in favour of the endowment of a third university in *Durham*, out of the overgrown wealth of the chapter lands. The project, we shall see, was revived in the protectorate. Even Mr Hallam generally unjust, I regret to say, to these great men! can say of this that it "was a design of great importance to education and literature in this country."

* Not long after the first meeting of this famous assembly of men, we find that above forty committees were appointed to investigate and prepare so many different subjects for the consideration of the house of commons; and as these committees upon an average consisted of twenty persons, and sometimes of double that number, almost every member must be supposed to have been upon some committee, and the same member was often upon several. The house usually sat in the morning, the committees in the evening. The larger committees had a power of appointing sub-commit-

summate the fame of these lasting things, which shall surely be held supreme above their temporary errors, they were on the point of giving a just charter of representative franchise to the great body of the nation, when they fell beneath the violence of Cromwell.

Was that fall merited? Does the plea of necessity hold good? Had these men rendered themselves suddenly incapable of the trust of government they had held so long, by insolent assertions of undue power, and selfish preferences of their own ends before the welfare and the good of England, when Cromwell, speaking the voice of the people, doomed them to dispersion and contempt, as an expiation of their sin? Their actions are now before the reader; their errors have not been concealed; and by the result of both let them be finally and fairly judged. It is our duty at present to follow Cromwell's fortunes in the new scenes opened to his vast ambition. Means will thus be offered in abundance of determining how far the result justified the outrage of the 20th of April, and whether its author then executed the righteous sentence of the nation, or merely practised on its weakness and divisions. With all the strange indifference, or, rather, as it may be better termed, the suspense between anger and hope, by which that outrage seemed to have half received the popular sanction, there was yet enough of the elements of good in our countrymen to render it needful that still under the show, and by the pretences of parliamentary authority, should despotism effect its crafty march upon them. But this is anticipating what will soon reveal itself, in a political lesson of no indifferent value. It will speedily be manifest whether the reign of saints was a more practicable thing than the reign of statesmen, and whether the last was indeed a failure, since the first achieved success. It will also be made evident under which anomalous authority—the parliament or the protectorate—the people of England

tees of their own body, either for expedition, or for a more accurate examination of the subjects that came before them.

enjoyed most freedom. Let the palm be given to that which only has deserved best,—when some proof is offered that under it the people were better governed ; that by its means our England had increased in wealth at home and honour abroad ; that vice was trampled under foot ; that property was protected ; that personal and political liberty were enjoyed ; and, in one word, that this authority, which claims to be remembered with our greatest respect, had discountenanced all possible revival of servile thoughts and royalist vices in the new republic, and promoted only the growth of popular intelligence, of sobriety, and virtue.

Be it, then, once more remembered, before proceeding to these means of final judgment, that Cromwell, by a peculiar combination of circumstances, most rare in the history of usurpers, had been able to overthrow the government of the commonwealth, not in its hour of weakness or decay, but at what seemed to be the “highest point of all its glory.” The Dutch were virtually subdued* ; the Portuguese and the Danes had humbled themselves to England ; and with all the other powers of Europe the leaders of the commonwealth were at peace. They were in sole possession of the Spanish trade, and were gradually, though slowly, diminishing the burdens of the people. They had given safety, at least, to each man’s home, and commerce was once more lifting up its head throughout the country. On the day of their dissolution there were upwards of 500,000*l.* in the public treasury, and

* So completely were many parties at a loss to fathom the first inducement of Cromwell to assault the parliament at such an hour, that a story became very current at the time, that, immediately after Blake’s last victory over the Dutch, the great loss of the latter had “so sensibly affected the states of Holland and West Friesland, that they despatched letters to the English parliament, to endeavour, after some means, for putting an end to this cruel war. This negotiation had no effect, though it was particularly promoted by general Cromwell himself, who was very desirous to have a peace concluded. The states had offered to acknowledge the English sovereignty of the British seas, and to pay 300,000*l.* to the English commonwealth ; but, finding this was not likely to succeed, they applied themselves (as we are told) more directly to general Cromwell, promising him vast sums if he would venture to depose and dissolve the parliament.” This is told in a life of the lord protector not at all inimical to Cromwell.

the value of 700,000*l.* in the magazines ; their power at sea was giving law to the world, and they had refused 900,000*l.* a year for the customs and excise.* Finally, they had then resolved to submit their stewardship to the judgment of the nation ; to test, by new institutions, the capacity of the people for republican government ; and to stand or fall by the result. Bishop Warburton, in a few celebrated words, has stated the matter as we may now be well content to leave it. "Cromwell," he says, "seemeth to be distinguished in the most eminent manner, with regard to his abilities, from all other great and wicked men who have overturned the liberties of their country. The times in which others succeeded in this attempt were such as saw the spirit of liberty suppressed and stifled by a general luxury and venality ; but Cromwell subdued his country when this spirit was at its height, by a successful struggle against court oppression ; and while it was conducted and supported by A SET OF THE GREATEST

* *Biog. Brit. art. Cromwell*, ed. Kippis, vol. iv. p. 525. *The History of Mrs. Macauley*. The author of "The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell" (published in 1668) distinctly says, that the prosperity of trade "appeared by the great sums offered them for the customs and excise ; 900,000*l.* a year being refused. The riches of the nation showed itself in the high value that land and all our native commodities bore, which are the certain marks of opulency. Our honour was made known to all the world by a conquering navy, which had brought the proud Hollanders upon their knees, to beg peace of us upon our own conditions, keeping all other nations in awe. And, besides these advantages, the public stock was 500,000*l.* in ready money ; the value of 700,000*l.* in stores, and the whole army in advance, some four, and none under two months ; so that, though there might be a debt of near 5000*l.* upon the kingdom, he met with above twice the value in lieu of it." This tract was written by Slingsby Bethel, and carries considerable authority with it. He was the son of sir Walter Bethel, by a sister of the sturdy and celebrated cavalier sir Henry Slingsby, who expiated on the scaffold his love for monarchy. Bethel, who was sheriff of London in 1680, played a conspicuous part in the agitations of the popish plot and the exclusion bill, and, as a staunch partisan of Shaftesbury and Monmouth, fell under the terrible lash of Dryden. He is the Shimei of "Absalom and Achitophel."

"When two or three were gathered to declaim
Against the monarch of Jerusalem,
Shimei was always in the midst of them ;
And, if they cursed the king when he was by,
Would rather curse than break good company.

"If any leisure time he had from power,—
Because 't is sin to misemploy an hour,—
His business was, by writing, to persuade
That kings were useless, and a clog to trade."

GENIUSES FOR GOVERNMENT THE WORLD EVER SAW EMBARKED TOGETHER IN ONE COMMON CAUSE."

It only remains that the names of these statesmen should be placed on record beside this mention of their deeds. A list of them was published, as they re-assembled after the death of Cromwell, and to this, which follows, I have added such as declined to re-assume their seats, or had perished in the interval. It may be held, therefore, very nearly complete; and embracing, as it does, the most eminent of the men who assembled on the 3d of November, 1640, and all who held their seats between the 30th of January, 1649, and the 20th of April, 1653, the reader has thus before him, recollecting the immortal memories of Eliot, Pym, and Hampden, and making needful allowance for the indifferent or the traitorous among them, the great authors of all the legislative triumphs this work has recorded, and indeed of all the essential political liberty that our country has enjoyed.

William Lenthall, Speaker. Earl of Salisbury. Philip Earl of Pembroke. Philip Lord Viscount Lisle. Edward Lord Howard of Escricke. Thomas Lord Halifax. William Lord Monson. Oliver St. John, Lord Chief Justice. John Wild, Lord Chief Baron. Lord Commiss. John Lisle. Lord Commiss. Bulstrode Whitlooke. Oliver Cromwell, Lord General. Henry Ireton, Lieutenant General. Lieutenant General Fleetwood. Lieutenant General Ludlow. Major General Skippon. Sir Arthur Haselrig. Sir Henry Vane. Sir Thomas Wroth. Sir Thomas Walsingham. Sir Henry Mildmay. Sir Michael Livesey. Sir Robert Goodwin. Sir John Trevor. Sir William Brereton. Sir Thomas Widdrington. Sir Richard Lucy. Sir Francis Russell. Sir John Lenthall. Sir William Armine. Sir William Strickland. Sir John Bourchier. Sir Gilbert Pickering. Sir Peter Wentworth. Sir James Harrington. Edmund Prideaux, Attorney-General. Roger Hill, Serjeant at Law. Erasmus Earle, Serjeant at Law. Robert Blake. John Jones. James Challoner. John Moyle. Thomas Crompton. Christopher Martin. Henry Smith. Miles Corbet. Michael Oldsworth. Carew Raleigh. Edward Howard. John Gurdon. John Fielder. John Fry. Thomas Atkin. John Hutchinson. Edmund Dunch. Thomas Pury, sen. Thomas Challoner

William Leman. Edmund Harvey. Henry Marten. Benjamin Weston. William Heveningham. John Barker. George Thomson. Luke Robinson. Gilbert Millington. Augustine Garland. Henry Nevile. Robert Andrew. Thomas Lister. Peter Brook. John Trenchard. Nathaniel Rich. Nicholas Gould. Algernon Sydney. John Lowry. William Say. John Selden. Edward Nevile. John Wastell. Henry Darley. Francis Lassels. William Purefoy. Nicholas Letchmere. Thomas Allen. John Dormer. Francis Rouse. William Cawley. John Nut. Richard Ingoldsby. Cornelius Holland. Edmund Wilde. John Corbet. James Ash. John Goodwin. Richard Sawley. Herbert Morley. James Nelthorp. Robert Brewster. John Dixwell. Thomas Harrison. John Downs. John Anlaby. Simon Meyne. Thomas Scot. George Fleetwood. Thomas Pury, jun. William Eyre. Thomas Boone. Edmund West. Robert Reynolds. William White. Richard Darley. John Carew. Augustine Skinner. John Dove. Thomas Birch. Nicholas Love. Philip Smith. Valentine Wauton. Alexander Popliam. Robert Cecill. Isaac Pennington. John Fag. William Hay. Nathaniel Hallows. Thomas Wayte. Henry Arthington. Walter Strickland. John Pyne. Thomas Mackworth. Gervas Pigot. Francis Thorp. Robert Bennet. Robert Nicholas. Richard Norton. John Stevens. Peter Temple. James Temple. John Weaver. Thomas Wogan. Brampton Gurdon. Robert Wallop. William Sydenham. John Bingham. Philip Jones. John Palmer. William Ellis.

Cromwell had been some days engaged in the establishment of the council of state, before he described it to the nation in his declaration of the 30th of April.* It was not an easy matter to establish; for all his officers thought themselves entitled to have an opinion concerning it; and it was his policy, for the present, to seem to give them their way. The discussions that ensued were, accordingly, highly characteristic.

Lambert, and a few of the more worldly of these gentlemen, proposed that it should consist of ten members; Harrison, and a section of his party, were for

* See *ante*, p. 77. A curious letter, of a few days later date, shows the suspicions already begun to be entertained as to his purposes. "This declaration," says the writer, "is in his own name, and signed by himself, Oliver Cromwell, which shewes what henceforward he aimesatt."—*Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. I. p. 240.

the number of seventy, after the model of the Jewish sanhedrin; Okey, and others of the saints, were for thirteen, in imitation of Christ and his twelve apostles. The last scheme, embracing at once the scriptural and convenient, was favoured for this and other peculiar reasons by Cromwell, and ultimately adopted. On the 29th of April they had taken their seats, for the first time, as rulers of the commonwealth. With Cromwell were associated eight officers of high rank* and four civilians.† The last would thus seem to have been thrown in as a convenient screen alone; for this council of state, so constituted, was to all intents and purposes a military council.

It will scarcely be believed, notwithstanding, that a desperate attempt was made to secure, in the position of one of the civilians, the name and authority of sir Henry Vane. Idle effort! but not less zealously made; for none knew better than Cromwell that any damage to such a character must be self-inflicted, and none more certain than he that such co-operation, by any argument secured, would altogether avert the possibility of a popular outbreak before his plans were ripe. No argument was therefore forgotten, no inducement omitted, to achieve the services of the "juggling" Vane. But the manner of their reception became his character. As he had treated the insult, he treated the mean submission. From his house in Lincolnshire, to which he had at once retired after the 20th of April, he wrote a brief answer to the application from the council, that "though the reign of saints was now no doubt begun, he was willing, for his part, to defer his share in it till he should go to heaven."‡ Heartily Cromwell wished him there — who can doubt!

* These were Lambert, Harrison, Desborough, Thomlinson, Bennet, Sydenham, Stapely, and another whose name I cannot precisely ascertain, in the confusion of the additions subsequently made, and of the second council of state so soon afterwards appointed. I take him, however, to have been Colonel Philip Jones.

† These were, Strickland, late ambassador to the United Provinces; sir Gilbert Pickering, John Carew, and Samuel Moyer. A new president was weekly chosen; Lambert being the first, Pickering the second, and Harrison the third.

‡ See an intercepted letter of Mr. T. Robinson to Mr. Stoneham, at the Hague, in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 265.

Decidedly warlike, however, as the new council of state was in its construction, the old council of officers held, not the less, to their existence as a quasi-authoritative body, of which the lord general, Cromwell himself, was the natural and most authoritative mouthpiece. Under no lack of governors, therefore, did England labour after the dispersion of her statesmen. A fortnight had not elapsed after that event before acts of the highest authority were seen to emanate, with equal force and potency, from three several executive powers. Englishmen were now called on to obey the council of state, now to submit to the council of officers; in one day they were to receive, with deference, the law of the lord-general Cromwell, speaking on behalf of the officers, and in the next, they were to welcome the orders of the lord-president Cromwell, as the mouthpiece of the state.*

Such, however, were the trifling peculiarities that might well precede a reign of saints, and men waited in hope accordingly. Scarcely a day passed that did not bring to the council its "humble and thankful congratulation from some that fear the Lord," in anticipation of the great things they were to do, and not seldom a mission or address of the following fashion reached the devout hands of the lord-general, or the lord-president, Oliver Cromwell. "After so many throes and pangs — severe contests between the powers of the world and the interest of Christ — *we conceive the great and long-desired reformation is near the birth.* We bless the God of Heaven who hath called you forth, and ledd

* See Whitelocke, p. 530—533. Among other acts done, judges were displaced, appointed, superseded; new treasury and admiralty commissioners were named; even the monthly assessment (so clamoured against in the time of the statesmen!) of 120,000*l.* was renewed for an additional half-year; and all these various powers assumed by authorities as various. (See Leicester's Journal, p. 142 Merc Pol., No. 157.) The chief civil offices had in the main gone forward without intermission, in obedience to the order contained in the declaration of officers. (See *ante*, p. 74.) It is amusing to mark Whitelocke's manner of shuffling over, in his Memorials, the fact of his first adhesion to this anomalous and most unlaywerlike state of things. Alluding to the appearance of this declaration, and of the more particular passage to which I have referred, he says, "The commissioners did not proceed in the business of the great seal till after this declaration; and then, considering that they had their authority from the parliament, they did proceed." This "parliament" must have been the parliament remotely and mysteriously alluded to in the declaration, as likely, probable, impossible, to be summoned!

you on, not only in the high places of the field, making you a terror to the enemy, but also (among those mighty ones whom God hath left) to the dissolving of the late parliament. O my lord, what are you that you should be the instrument to translate the nation from oppression to libertie, *from the hands of corrupt persons to the saints?* And who are we that we should live to see these days which our fathers longed to see, and reap the harvest of their hopes? To be lowe in our owne eyes, when God lifteth us, is a true testimonie of humility and uprightness. No action of service or honour ever swelled the bosom of Christ; him, we believe, you make your patterne. Let the high praises of God be in our mouths, and the generations to come tell of his wonders. Let the improvement of this opportunity be your care and our prayer, that you may follow the Lambe whithersoever he goeth, and we attend you with our persons, petitions, purses, lives, and all that is dear to us." *

The royalists had a somewhat different mode of regarding the recent occurrences — more sensible as a matter of reasoning, but still mistaken in point of fact, or rather in point of time. They wrote exultingly to every quarter of the continent that their great enemies were gone, that the regicide parliament was no more, that a "notable crisis" was at hand; they revelled in the thought of "the noble confusion" Cromwell had made †; they said that their cause, low as it was, should spring back higher than ever; in plain and prophetic terms, they told the personal friends of Stuart that he should have his throne again; and all these things they mixed as freely as their draughts, in ribald songs at their royalist taverns.

"Some think that Cromwell with Charles is agreed,
And say 'twere good policy if it were so,
Lest the Hollander, French, the Dane, and the Swede,
Do bring him again whether he will or no.

* Ellis's Letters, second series, vol. iii. p. 368.

† Evelyn, vol. ii. p. 215. Letter of Sir Edward Hyde.

“ And now I would gladly conclude my song
With a prayer, as ballads are wont to do ;
But yet I'll forbear, for I think ere 't be long,
We may have a king and a parliament too.” *

The only man in the midst of these strange doings who already knew their result as thoroughly as he coolly and determinedly contemplated it, was Cromwell himself. It is a singular proof of the complete self-possession with which he had long been quietly providing for the movement he had resolved sooner or later to make, that he sent confidentially to the great rival of Mazarin in the very instant of the brief triumph which preceded the fall of that statesman, to bespeak his interest and friendship. I find the following note in the *Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz*. He had been on some certain night to negotiate a money loan for Charles Stuart, who was then in Paris, and thus relates the evening's adventures.

‘ It is remarkable that the same night, as I was going home, I met one Tilney, an Englishman, whom I had formerly known at Rome, who told me that Vere, a great parliamentarian and a favourite of Cromwell, was arrived at Paris, and had orders to see me. I was a little perplexed ; however, I thought it would be improper to refuse him an interview. He gave me a letter from Cromwell, in the nature of credentials, importing that the sentiments I had discovered in the defence of public liberty, added to my reputation, and had induced him to enter into the strictest friendship with me. It was a most civil complaisant letter, and I answered it with a great deal of respect ; but in such a manner as became a true Catholic and an honest Frenchman.”

But yet, as surely as his designs were held, did this extraordinary man contrive, among his own partisans, to throw every kind of doubt and uncertainty over them. A memorable instance at this period is related by

* *Ellis's Letters*. Abundant proofs of this state of royalist feeling and anticipation may be seen in the *Papers of Evelyn and Thurloe*.

Edmund Ludlow. Among the deluded agents in the dispersion of the parliament, major Salway has been mentioned. He appears to have been too self-willed for introduction among the new council, and yet too influential with some sections of the army to be passed over without a certain show of deference and conciliation. To him, therefore, Cromwell had sent shortly after the fall of the commonwealth, and Salway, "with his friend Mr. John Carew," at once obeyed the invitation. Then Cromwell, according to the report of Ludlow, complained to them of "the great weight of affairs that by this means was fallen upon him; affirming, that the thoughts of the consequence thereof made him to tremble; and therefore desired them to free him from the temptations that might be laid before him, and to that end to go immediately to the chief justice St. John, and Mr. Selden, and some others, and endeavour to persuade them to draw up some instrument of government, that might put the power out of his hands." To this major Salway at once answered, with dignity and spirit, yet at the same time no recorded distrust of Cromwell, — "The way, sir, to free you from this temptation, is *for you not to look upon yourself to be under it, but to rest persuaded that the power of this nation is in the good people of England, as formerly it was.*" Good advice, but by no means so acceptable in the quarter addressed, as the pretences which had scattered the statesmen might have led poor Salway to suppose! Yet it was advice which Cromwell no doubt received with all gracious profession, since it confirmed in one convenient sense, if not in the speaker's own, a determination which already existed in the lord-general's mind, and by a well-devised realisation of which he hoped to settle the "popular representative," and the "reign of saints," together, in a prescription that should serve for both. Salway, there is little reason to doubt, was sent away perfectly contented.

Meanwhile every thing was working in public as Cromwell could have best desired. The frame of affairs

seemed to be breaking asunder. Each day brought fresh rumours to agitate and confuse the public; each day was the birth of a new project that was to glorify and exalt, or of some design that was sure to betray, the people. Now one excited group met another, and exchanged beliefs that Cromwell had offered to recall the royal family on condition that Charles should marry one of his daughters*; then might be seen, next day, a knot of disturbed and threatening men, who were telling each other that Cromwell intended himself to ascend the throne, and that the insignia for his coronation were actually prepared; finally, aloof from all these, excited enthusiasts gathered together in various quarters of the city, to predict a speedy advent for those halcyon days which would at last fulfil God's promises to man. In one street signatures were solicited to a petition for the re-establishment of the ancient constitution; in another for a pure republic, with the government of successive parliaments; in a third for welcome to that "Lambe of the Lord," which had exhibited itself in the new military councils. All this was to have been expected in the state of society and of parties already described. Some addresses declared the conviction of their subscribers that the late dissolution was a crime, some that it was a blessing; some were for having the statesmen back, some were rather impatient, and not very implicit, about the assembling of the saints. From the country, too, various rumours arrived in quick and startling succes-

* I take the following from a curious letter in Thurloe (vol. i. p. 254.), dated at the close of May, 1653: such extracts might be given in abundance:—"I expected some news in the letters concerning the king of Scots, which was strongly reported here a fortnight or three weeks ago to be gon for Holland; and now the fresh reports are, that it's lowly spoken in the court, that *he is to marry one of Cromwell's daughters*, so to be brought again to his three lost crownes. This is also muttered here, but not believed, *Cromwell professing himself a constant enemy to monarchs, and that the height of his ambition is to be a vassall of the commonwealth*, altho' it's thought by many he is at his witt's end, not content with what he hath gott, nor knowing how to get absolute hold of the sceptre, or to content all, the soldiers being much divided by their several interests. It is sayd again, he hath sent for all the soldters to come up; and what will be done when they come (if indeed they do come), I cannot divine. Our city is earnest, either to have the old parliament brought to sit again, or to have a new one. Cromwell will never yeald to the first, but rather punish the motioners; what he will do to the second, time must show."

sion. Here there was "gathering of hands" for the fallen commonwealth, there for the rising king* — and only one thing reigned alike everywhere, THE SPIRIT OF CONFUSION.

And thus arose the instrument of Cromwell's vast design! "Sure," wrote Hyde from Paris a few weeks later, "sure the confusion is very high in England, and you must declare for Cromwell, that his single influence may compose these distractions, which the multitude cannot do." It is good to make our giants first, since it is certain that we kill them then more easily.

The time had certainly arrived, if not for that of a declaration in behalf of Cromwell, at least for his own trial of the last grand cheat he had been so long preparing. It was observed for some weeks, that he had never seemed to wear such gracious aspects of humility and godliness as at this peculiar time; his prayers had peculiar relish in them, and a most extraordinary fervour; his preachings were also very frequent in the council; and it was the report of men more immediately about his person in confidential relations, that he had certainly of late received absolute communications from the Holy Spirit.†

* I refrain from overlaying the text with details on these matters, which might be multiplied to an interminable extent. I give another curious letter, however, which bears upon the subject generally, and sufficiently illustrates the view I have given of the state of society: it is to be found in Thurloe, vol. i. p. 249, 250:—"We talk merrily of a petition coming out of Surrey for making their general king. The foolish, senseless, stupid, citizens were so sottish as to petition their lord-general to have at least some who were thought good men of the parliament to sit again; but he gave them an answer no ways to their desire. He intends to be king in effect, though loth to take upon him the title. The apparition of the city's petition was seen a fortnight ago in several places of this town; but it soon vanished in the thoughts of wise men. The council often are at a nonplus, for they know not what to do; they have added three more to their number. The general's picture was set up at the Exchange, with verses under it, tending much to his honour: it was brought to him by the lord mayor, who, it is thought, was the contriver of the setting of it up. Whitlock declareth that the parliament is not dissolved, and there is a gathering of hands to that purpose. On the other side there is a gathering of hands for a king. This is both in town and country. Essex and Buckinghamshire are sending a petition for a king. Thus things stand in a great confusion. As things stand now, we know not what to think or say. The time was, when the challenging of five members was cried out upon for an unheard of breach of privilege of parliament; but afterwards the impeaching of eleven members was a greater, and made a mighty noise amongst the Presbyterians. What think you now of turning them all out of doors?"

† The assertion is thought worthy of grave contradiction by one of

The secret of these spiritual throes and heavings made its appearance in due course. It had been immediately preceded by eight days' close consultation between Cromwell and his military divan — a circumstance duly noted with all kinds of lofty and indistinct surmise, by the Whitehall newspapers*—

Cromwell's common-sense partisans: M. de Burdeaux, for example, the French resident in England, and for many reasons well affected to Cromwell, thus writes to Monsieur de Brienne, the French secretary of state:—
"Les bruits, qu'on fait courir du général [Cromwell] ne sont pas vrais; il affecte bien une grande piété, mais par une particulière communication avec le St. Esprit; et n'est pas si foible, que de se laisser prendre par des flateries. Je sais que l'amb de Portugal lui en aiant fait sur ce changement, il en fait raillerie." An extract from a royalist pamphlet of the day will show, however, the peculiar interests that now subsisted between this Frenchman and Cromwell. Alluding to the addresses which were got up after the fall of the parliament "to strengthen the hands of this dictator in carrying on the work of Sion," it thus proceeds:—"He was also complimented by the French ambassador Bordeaux, who had made applications to the parliament, but was doubtful of effecting his errand with those highest and mightiest states *who were grown formidable not only to the Dutch, but to his master*; who willingly courted them to prevent their closing with his rebels of Bourdeaux; only Oliver, as we have seen, valued them no more than scoundrels or rake-shames, *nor would give ear to any more enemies of monarchy.*" A vice in the foreign policy of the protectorate is here glanced at.

* It is needless to observe that the breathless interest with which intelligence of each new incident or circumstance of the war was looked for, had greatly tended to the increase of newspapers, both in numbers and influence. About twelve were now regularly published, all of them weekly newspapers, besides those occasional assaults on the popular party, which came out in the shape of royalist journals. On Monday, appeared the Perfect Diurnal, and the Moderate Intelligencer; on Tuesday, Several Proceedings in Parliament, a publication of authority; the Weekly Intelligencer, and the Faithful Post; on Wednesday, Mercurius Democritus, and the Perfect Account, on Thursday, Several Proceedings in State Affairs, a publication of some authority, and Mercurius Politicus, a sort of state gazette, and on Friday, the Moderate Publisher, the Faithful Post, by a different publisher from that of Tuesday, and the Faithful Scout. There was no newspaper on Saturday, probably because that would have been considered as too nearly trenching on the Lord's Day. Among the various writers whose names have come down to us, that of Marchamont Needham, the editor of the Mercurius Politicus, best deserves mention. He had written against the liberal cause in the commencement of the war, yet the statesmen not only pardoned him this, but extended to his undoubted talents the patronage they loved to bestow universally on literature and learned men. Eventually he "was induced to become an advocate for them and liberty." He was a writer worth gaining. This is his character by Anthony à Wood:—"His Mercurius Politicus, which came out by authority, and flew every week into all parts of the nation for more than ten years, had very great influence upon numbers of inconsiderable persons, such as have a strong presumption that all must needs be true that is in print. He was the Goliath of the Philistines, the great champion of the late usurper, whose pen, in comparison of other's, was like a weaver's beam. And certainly he that will or can peruse those his intelligences call'd Merc. Politicus, will judge that, had the devil himself (the father of all lies) been in this Goliath's office, he could not have exceeded him, as having with profound malice calumniated his sovereign, with scurrility abused the nobility, with impudence blasphemed the church and members thereof, and

and for the result of which all parties in the metropolis appear to have waited with an extreme intensity of interest. It was early in June when its disclosure appeared, and it announced a parliament. A parliament! — that name which a short month past was said to have become hateful to the English people, was now confessed to be the one feasible mode of inducing satisfaction and content. A parliament of statesmen! — some hearts, it might be, leapt high again with the generous hope, which in generous natures survives distrust and fear, and saw the men of the army powerless, and the commonwealth restored. A parliament of *saints*! — at that rapt announcement, enthusiasts, who walked the city with their faces too much fixed on heaven to see ordinary wants or human fears, beheld the prayed for movements in the clouds that were to

and I therefore subjoin a passage from the 108th number of "Mercurius Politicus," on what are called "Reasons of State:" — "The regulation of affairs by reason of state, not the strict rule of honesty, has been an epidemical one. But for fear I be mistaken," continues he, "you are to understand, that by reason of state here we do not condemn the equitable result of prudence and right reason — for upon determinations of this nature depends the safety of all states and princes — but that reason of state which flows from a corrupt principle to an indirect end; that reason of state which is the statesman's reason, or rather his will and lust, when he admits ambition to be a reason — preferment, power, profit, revenge, and opportunity, to be reasons sufficient to put him upon any design or action that may tend to present advantage; though contrary to the law of God, or the law of state is the most sovereign

Reason of state is the card many times the religion of a state; the law, the life of a state. That which answers all objections and quarrels about mal-government. That which wages war, imposes taxes, cuts off offenders, pardons offenders, sends and treats ambassadors. It can say and unsay; do and undo; balk the common road, make high-ways to become by-ways, and the farthest about to become the nearest cut. If a difficult knot come to be untied, which neither the divine by scripture, nor lawyer by case or precedent can untie, then reason of state, or an hundred ways more which idiots know not, dissolve it. This is that great empress which the Italians call *Ragione di Stato*; it can rant as a soldier, compliment as a monsieur, trick it as a juggler, strut it as a statesman, and is as changeable as the moon in the variety of her appearances." This is admirable satire, expressed with admirable correctness and ease. I should not omit to add that one of the ablest works produced by Needham, was written at the request of the parliamentary leaders, and thus entitled: — "The Case of the Commonwealth of England stated, with a Discourse of the Excellencie of a Free State above a Kingly Government." I shall have an opportunity of returning to this work.

sweep away for ever iniquity and sorrow ; but were, alas ! struck blind to movements reviving on the earth, which, in a few brief years, would sweep themselves away with a most triumphant scorn.

A parliament of saints it was indeed to be ! The ignorant and enthusiast still believed — the poor were obliged to hope, since it was something still to cling to — the statesmen grieved or smiled — the indifferent calculated chances — while the irreverent exultation of the royalists scattered questions along the streets, to ask if the image of him who rode into Jerusalem upon an ass's foal, were any more than a type of the new deliverer, who was about to ride into his throne upon the backs of a hundred and twenty asses, selected out of several counties for the especial purpose.*

But were the people to return these saints ? Were the asses to be of popular selection ? The pretences urged against the statesmen would surely at least be permitted to survive so far. It would be hardly credible, that within a month of the violent destruction of a parliament on the plea that it had refused to place faith in the people, its destroyers should take on themselves to call another parliament together without even the semblance of a popular appeal. And yet this was what was now done, as any other thing equally monstrous might have been done in that condition of affairs. When men have been induced, no matter by what disunion or distraction, to countenance one great falsehood — they have then surrendered the privileges with the protection of truth. A lie can only generate a lie, and he who has acknowledged the parent, dares not deny or reject the offspring. The first result of the pernicious fraud which perverts the intellect, is the habitual indifference or insincerity which debases and corrupts the heart.

The new parliament was to be summoned on principles unheard of in all time before. The qualification of

* Lord Somers' Tracts by Scott, vol. vii. p. 97. Placards containing such sneers as these were dropped in various places throughout the city.

its members was to be sanctity of principles, and holiness of life, and their election was to proceed, heaven-directed, from the choice of the council of officers. With this view, ministers in various parts of the country, on whom the council could rely, had been directed to take the sense of the "congregational churches" in their several counties, and to send up to the lord general and his officers returns, containing the names of persons, "able, loveing truth, fearing God, and hateing covetousnesse," whom they judged "qualified to manage a trust in the ensuing government." * Out of these, with the assistance of various names selected for their own more immediate ends, the council of officers, in the presence of the lord general†, now pro-

* I subjoin from Thurloe a specimen of one of these congregational documents. "Letter from the people of Bedfordshire to the lord general Cromwell, and the counceill of the army. May it please your lordship and the rest of the counceill of the army, We (we trust), the servants of Jesus Christ, inhabitants in the county of Bedford, haveinge fresh upon our hearts the sad oppressions we have (a longe while' groan'd under from the late parlyament, and now eyeing and owning (through grace) the good hand of God in this great turne of providence, being persuaded it is from the Lord that you should be instruments in his hand at such a time as this, for the electing of such persons whoe may go in and out before his people in righteousness, and governe these nations in judgment, we haveing sought the Lord for you, and hoping that God will still doe greate things by you, understanding that it is in your hearts (through the Lord's assistance) to establish an authority, consisting of men able, loveing truth, fearing God, and

some experience of men with . . . u, and to the rest of his people, . . . Taylor and John

Croke, now justices of peace in our county, whom we judge in the Lord qualified to manage a trust in the ensuing government. All which we humbly referre to your serious considcrations, and subscribe our names, this 15th day of May, 1653." A memorandum of the "Duteh deputies in England," dated 12th of August, 1653, states that the new council, "by the direction and the name of the lord general Cromwell, against the 4th of July, 1653, have summoned a new representation of 120 English, five Scotch, and five Irish commissioners, out of the respective counties and a few towns; who, upon the letter of the said general, after a foregoing communication with the ministers of the independent party, which are spread through all England under the name of the gathered churches, and do keep a mutual correspondence, were chosen, and have appeared here." It is worthy of remark, at the same time, that the lord general and his council exercised their own right of choice at all times when it happened to differ from their congregational advisers; and that, for example, though Nathaniell Taylor in the above recommendation was "called," John Croke was not. "Edward Cater" was summoned in his stead.

† It is a singular circumstance, that what was called the council of state, took no authoritative share in this proceeding; and, accordingly, no notice of the subject is to be found in their order book: it was solely the work of Cromwell and his officers. A characteristic circumstance should also be noted. Major Salway, though not a member of the military council, was present at these meetings, invited there by Cromwell, who thus, by an extreme appearance of confidence and favour, disarmed the suspicions of a gentleman equally credulous and troublesome.

ceeded to select a convention of 139 representatives, divided thus: for England 122; for Wales six; six for Ireland; and five for Scotland. And to all these, summonses were at once sent out.

The form of the summons was as extraordinary as its origin. It was issued in the sole name of Oliver Cromwell, as though in these two words already lodged the sovereign authority of England; and it ran thus: — “For as much as, upon the dissolution of the late parliament, it became necessary that the peace, safety, and government of this commonwealth should be provided for; and in order thereunto, divers persons fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty, *are by myself*, with the advice of my council of officers, nominated, to whom the charge of trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed: and having good assurance of your love to, and courage for, God and the interest of this cause, and of the good people of this commonwealth; — I, Oliver Cromwell, captain-general and commander in chief of all the armies and forces raised, and to be raised, within this commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you — esquire (being one of the persons nominated) personally to be and appear at the council chamber at Whitehall, within the city of Westminster, upon the 4th day of July next ensuing the date hereof; then and there to take upon you the said trust, unto which you are hereby called, and appointed to serve as a member for the county (or city) of — *And hereof you are not to fail.* Given under my hand and seal, the 6th day of June, 1653. OLIVER CROMWELL.” *

Nor did any fail, excepting two. Two men only refused to answer to the summons. The rest, in wonder or enthusiasm, obeyed. It is indeed recorded of the majority, that they took the very extraordinary manner of their election as a sufficient proof that the call was from heaven! † This was natural enough;

* Lord Somers's Tracts, vol. vi. p. 247.

† The author of “An Exact Relation of the Proceedings and Transac-

since men who have been fed with prodigies once, will feed themselves with prodigies still; nor is a falsehood itself more self-productive than a miracle. And thus did every thing work to the usurper's wish. Temporal and spiritual pride went hand in hand to the work, trusting each to the blindness of the other, and both resolved to get what they could, of their respective yet most opposite desires, out of the "mysterious knack" as one of the royalist papers not inaptly called it, "of a new unheard of legislative authority, who, by the name of men of integrity and fidelity to the cause of God, were by a bare summons from Oliver called to the settlement of the state — that was, to be stirrups or footsteps to the throne whereon Cromwell should tread."*

Faithful to the day appointed in the summons, these wonderfully-selected, able, truth-loving, God-fearing, covetousness-hating, and Cromwell-obeying men, presented themselves on the 4th of July, 1653, at the council chamber in Whitehall. A more extraordinary assemblage had assuredly never been seen within the walls of any place of power. Mean men were among them, and for this they have been flung aside in the mass as a set of ignorant mechanics and adventurers, low-born, low-bred, illiterate, and vile: — indifferent and reckless men were among them, and for this they have been scorned and branded by history as hypocrites

tions of the late Parliament, their beginning and ending; by a Member" (printed in the year 1654, and to be found in Somers's Tracts, vol. vi. p. 266), tells us "It is very observable, that of all that were chosen and summoned to appear for the end aforesaid, being 140 persons, there were but two that refused the call and work, so unanimous a concurrence was there found as to the service, though they knew well their call was not according to ancient formality and the way of the nation. There seemed to be two reasons wherein there was satisfaction: first, *that divine providence had cast it on them, without their seeking in the least*, secondly, the necessity, as the case of the commonwealth stood, of having some to act and carry on affairs, in way of government, till *there might be an attainer to a better way of settlement, by the choice of the good people of this nation, which was not to be denied to be their just and dearly purchased liberty*." The last passage proves that a certain set of men in this parliament had been able to combine a conscientious sense and care of public liberty with even the re-

* It will sent proceed
 origin of the slanders against the quality and condition of the men who composed this convention. "As for news here, we have none but good, for the

and madmen.* Yet were they none of these. Describe them, as such an assemblage claims to be described,

Whitehall, that there is brought in there a royal crown and a sceptre; and I wish him as much joy with it as you do, or can do. His excellence and his privy council, which consist of as many Christ and his apostles, all godly men, have made two acts lately, equal to the former acts of parliament: the one for the continuance of our monthly tax; the other for the convening of a new representative at Whitehall, *on purpose, as is expected, to crown his excellency.* They are elected out of all counties, but not by the counties of England, but by the special appointment of him and his council, and his warrant to them runs thus:—I and my council do will and command you to appear at Whitehall, &c., and I assure you we shall have a blessed government, for though all the elected are mean men, yet they are godly men, and the most of them gifted men, fit to govern both in church and government. By the next I shall give you their names. In the mean time take the names of some good and gracious, elected for Westminster and London: *Mr. Squib, sometimes clerk to sir Edward Powl; another, a leather-seller, over Ham Alley, in Fleet Street, a very ram, a man well known to your bedfellow; another, a scrivener in St. Thomas Apostle's, a pure apostle, Mr. Colborne by name; another, an aqua vite man, near Aldgate, to furnish the state with a dram out of the bottle to comfort their hearts.* The "leather-seller" referred to here was the notorious Barbone, and it is singular that there is no such attempt to play the same trick with his name on the part of this scurrilous royalist, as our grave historians have since played.

* "Much the major part of them," Lord Clarendon tells us, "consisted of inferior persons of no quality or name, artificers of the meanest trades, known only by their gifts in praying and preaching, which was now practised by all degrees of men, but scholars, throughout the kingdom. In which number, that there may be a better judgment made of the rest, it will not be amiss to name one, from whom that parliament itself was afterwards denominated, who was Praise-God (that was his Christian name) Barebone, a leather-seller in Fleet Street; from whom, he being an eminent speaker in it, it was afterwards called Praise-God Barebone's parliament. In a word, they were a pack of weak, senseless fellows, fit only to bring the name and reputation of parliaments lower than it was yet." Another contemporary styles them, "A set of men for the most part of such mean and ignoble extraction, that so far were they from being taken notice of by their shires, each of whom (but two or three) represented, that they were scarce known in the very towns wherein they were born, or afterwards inhabited, till the excuse, then committees for sequestration, and the war in the respective counties, made them infamously known. The rest were of Cromwell's partisans in the parliament and high Court of Justice."—Whitlocke remarks, however, "That many of this assembly being persons of fortune and knowledge, it was much wondered by some that they would at this summons, and from such hands, take upon them the supreme authority of this nation, considering how little authority Cromwell and his officers had to give it, or these gentlemen to take it." It may be worth subjoining, also, the character of the members of this convention from Ludlow, who tells us, "That many of the members of this assembly had manifested a good affection to the public cause; but some there among them who were brought in as spies and trepanners, and though they had been always of the contrary party, made the highest pretensions to honesty, and the service of the nation. This assembly, therefore, being composed, for the most part, of honest and well-meaning persons (who having good intentions, were less ready to suspect the evil designs of others), thought themselves in full possession of the power and authority of the nation, and therefore proceeded to the making of laws relating to the public."

by the general characteristics of the great majority of its members, — and, let laughter still flow freely as it will at the monstrous origin of their authority, and the ludicrous pretences of their sanctity, the more grave and the more respectful will be our mention of the personal qualities of the men. They were earnest and sincere. They had great truth of purpose, unquestionable good faith, and a zeal that set life and labour at nought in the service to which they had been called. They believed much, and they acted as men who believed. They wildly thought themselves, indeed, the heralds of a new and glorious era of unearthly happiness to earth, and of immortal peace and goodwill to mortal men; but to this service of overheated imaginations, they brought the aid of judgment upon various and most essential things at once sober, correct, and practical; which should for itself alone command the admiration and respect of all reasoning or reflecting persons. Finally, they were men of no common worldly esteem. “It was much wondered at by some,” says Whitelocke, “that these gentlemen, many of them being persons of fortune and knowledge, would, at this summons, and from these hands, take upon them the supreme authority of the nation.” There were many more things wonderful which Whitelocke’s philosophy preferred to leave undreamt of, though it might, perchance, have explained them. It was possibly much wondered at by some, for example, that such gentlemen as these, many of them being persons of knowledge, would have been *called upon*, under a summons from such hands, to assume the supreme authority of the nation. Yet none knew better than Whitelocke and his class what Cromwell’s objects were, and none better than they could have told how even such men as these would be made the instruments to advance them. This will speedily become manifest.

Thus, then, assembled in this Whitehall council chamber the celebrated Barebone’s parliament, — a title by which grave historians, taking advantage of the lucky

accident of the name of one of its members, have sought to make it ridiculous in history. A cheap thing is ridicule ; and a most precious instrument of unprincipled power, the facility of coining nicknames ! The ingenious device of changing Barbone into Barebone, and the constant repetition of the latter word in its most ridiculous sense, have been successful in persuading historical readers for nearly two centuries that this assemblage of men, wealthy, high-born, wise, as many of them were, was little better, to all sensible or rational purposes, than an assemblage of literal bare bones * might have been ! So true it is that men are not made less contemptible because their nickname happens to be nonsense. It is all the better for revealing no shadow of the qualities they may have, whether vile or great, since it only flings the more insignificance over them in expressing, as it were, a very abstraction of the contemptible. The return of Praise God Barbone † as one of the members for

* Voltaire gravely translates Barbone's name into *os décharné* !

† Mr. Godwin (in the *Hist. of the Commonwealth*, vol. iii. p. 524) first exposed the trick of this altered name, and, on the authority of four undisputed contemporary lists of this parliament, published by the council of the state, wrote it Barbone. He suggested, at the same time, as to the Christian prefix, that it was scarcely more fanatical than Deodatus, a name to be found in the records of most of the countries of Europe. He might have said more for the name itself, which is capable of the classic translation of Timotheus. It would be scarcely necessary to refer to the numberless vulgar slander and ridiculous fictions that have sprung out of this notorious name, but that it too well expresses the spirit in which the history of these times has (until of late) been written, to be altogether omitted. For example, one historian talks of "Praise God Barebone" having had two brothers, the Christian name of the first of whom was *Christ came into the world to save*, and of the second, *If Christ had not died, thou hadst been damned*. He introduces his anecdote with the suspicious words, "*I have been informed that there were three brothers,*" and adds, that "some people, tired of the long name of the younger brother, are said to have omitted the former part of the sentence, and to have called him familiarly *Damned Barebone*." Another writer, according to Mr. Godwin the reverend James Brome, in a book of Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales, second edition, 1707, has endeavoured to render the satire more complete, by giving the names of a "jury returned in the county of Sussex, in the late rebellious, troublesome times, as follows : (p. 279) *Accepted Trevor of Norsham ; Redeemed Compton of Battel ; Faint not Hewet of Heathfield ; Make peace Heaton of Hare ; God reward Smart of Tisehurst ; Stand fast on high Stringer of Crowhurst ; Earth Adams of Warbleton ; Called Lower of the same ; Kill sin Pimple of Witham ; Return Spelman of Watling ; Be Faithful Joiner of Britling ; Fly debate Roberts of the same ; Fight the good fight of faith White of Emer ; More fruit Fowler of East Hodley ; Hope for Bending of the same ; Graceful Harding of Lewes ; Weep not Billing of the same ; Meek Brewer of Okeham.*" It is really scarcely credible that this list should have been copied into Hume's *History of England*—so it is, however, and Dr. Zachary

the city of London, hath had truly a portentous influence on the memory of this parliament!

Besides Barbone, however, it will become us to recollect in this narrative, that Henry Cromwell, a man of no insignificance any way, was summoned—that the whole of what was called the council of state, with the exception of the four general officers and colonel Thomlinson, appeared—and that among the names of influence and consideration which were to be found among them, were those of viscount Lisle; George lord Eure; major Salway; Lockhart, afterwards French ambassador; Montagu, afterwards earl of Sandwich; Howard, afterwards earl of Carlisle; sir Robert King, of Dublin; sir Charles Wolsely, of Oxfordshire; sir William Brownlow, of Lincolnshire; sir William Roberts, of Middlesex; sir James Hope, of Hopetown; and colonels Duckenfield, Bennet, Fenwick, Barton, Sydenham, Bingham, Laurence, Blount, Kenrick, West, Danvers, Jones, Pine, Norton, Clark, James, and Hutchinson; with majors Saunders and Horseman, captain Stone, and others that had served with singular credit in the war. The illustrious name of Robert Blake appeared also in the list, with eleven others, in-

Grey had previously given it the authority of his name, if his name had been capable of bearing authority in matters which involved hatred to the puritans. Unblinded by such hatred, these men would have been the first to see that this notable list was a mere piece of *mauvaise plaisanterie*. If any doubt remained about it, however, it fortunately happens, from Mr. Godwin's researches, that the Rev. James Brome (the original reporter) has furnished a sufficiently satisfactory clue to the whole, by premising to this list of the Sussex jury, that it was given him "by the same worthy hand," that had supplied him with the names of the Huntingdon jury in a preceding page. The story of the Huntingdon jury runs thus:—"The following is the 'copy of a jury taken before judge Doddridge at the assizes holden in this place, July 1619, which is the more remarkable because the surnames of some of the inhabitants would seem to make them at first sight persons of very great renown and quality (p. 56) Maximilian King of Poseland; Henry Prince of Godmanchester; George Duke of Somersham; William Marquess of Stukeley; Edmund Earl of Hartford; Richard Baron of Bythorn; Stephen Pope of Newton; Stephen Cardinal of Kimbolton; Humphrey Bishop of Bugden; Robert Lord of Waseley; Robert Knight of Winwick; William Abbot of Stukeley; Robert Baron of St. Neot's; William Dean of Old Weston; John Archdeacon of Paxton; Peter Esquire of Easton; Edward Friar of Ellington; Henry Monk of Stukeley; George Gentleman of Spaldeck; George Priest of Graffan; Richard Deacon of Catworth; Thomas Yeoman of Barham." It is altogether a joke, the reader perceives, and, what is worse, by no means a good one!

cluding Francis Rouse, the provost of Eton college, who had sate with him in the long parliament itself.*

Two names remain to be mentioned, whose appearance may now be held to have been truly ominous of the crisis to which the public cause was approaching fast, and of the strange and sad prospects that were in wait for liberty. These were George Monk, and Anthony Ashley Cooper — the “scoundrel of fortune,” who restored Charles II., and the renegade, who sat in judgment on the judges of Charles I. From this period both date their fortunes. Monk had already been selected by Cromwell to supersede Blake in the naval command; and Cooper, whose “venal wit” had hitherto been aptly used for royalty, now recognised the period of his great advancement come, and set that wit to work to profit by it.

“He cast himself, into the saint-like mould,
Groan’d, sigh’d, and pray’d, while godliness was gain,
The loudest bagpipe of the squeaking train!”

No surer mark can we find of the present aspect of affairs than in the rise of such men as these. They determine, with an almost unerring accuracy, from the distance at which we regard them, the character of the crisis which suddenly gave them power. England had become little better than a wide theatre for the struggle of selfish passions. With no paramount principle to bind men together — with no ties of acknowledged allegiance to restrain them — the intrepid and the bold; the men who had sufficient daring to execute what they had craft enough to plan; the unscrupulous and the restless; the souls for close designs and crooked counsels, for storm, for confusion, for anything but calm; — all these would naturally start above the surface. We see the types of such men in George Monk and Anthony Ashley Cooper. We see the demoralising action on the people, in the state to which they had been brought, and can discern, “as in a map, the end of all.” Policy mea-

* These were Lisle, Pickering, Christopher Martin, Francis Rouse, Harrison, George Fleetwood, Carew, Strickland, Richard Norton, Sydenham, and Jones.

sured by passion ; rules of government, various as the various temperaments of men, set up each day ; plots and conspiracies, unheard of during the sway of the statesmen, hatched each night ; but George Monk still faithful to George Monk, Anthony Cooper losing no love for Anthony Cooper, and at no great distance from the sad scene, the brutal and wicked orgies of the restoration ! He who now cants for tyranny under Cromwell with pious breath, will soon practise it under Charles II. with iron heel.*

* Not to acquaint the reader with a satire which he has no doubt admired, but to place on record a noble delineation of the kind of qualities which were now as in a hot bed nursed in England, I subjoin the character of Shaftesbury from Dryden's great hand :—

“ Of these the false Achitophel was first ;
 A name to all succeeding ages curst.
 For close designs, and crooked counsels fit ;
 Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit ;
 Restless, unfix'd in principles and place ;
 In power unpleas'd, impatient of disgrace :
 A fiery soul, which working out its way
 Fretted the pigmy body to decay,
 And o'er inform'd the trinement of clay.
 A daring pilot in extremity ;
 Pleas'd with the danger when the waves went high,
 He sought the storms ; but for a calm unfit,
 Would steer too nigh the sands to boast his wit.
 Great wits are sure to madness near allied,
 And thin partitions do their bounds divide ;
 Else why should he, with wealth and honour blest,
 Refuse his age the needful hours of rest ?
 Punish a body which he could not please
 Bankrupt of life, yet prodigal of ease ?
 And all to leave what with his toil he won,
 To that unfeather'd two-legged thing a son,
 Got, while his soul did huddled notions try,
 And born a shapeless lump like anarchy.
 In friendship false, unplaceable in hate ;
 Resolv'd to ruin, or to rule the state.
 To compass this the triple bond he broke ;
 The pillars of the public safety shook ;
 And fitted Israel for a foreign yoke.
 They could smite with us, but still reflect no shame,
 I

With public zeal to cancel private crimes
 How safe is treason, and how sacred ill,
 Where none can sin against the people's will !
 Where crowds can wink, and no offence be known,
 Since in another's guilt they find their own ?
 Yet fame deserv'd no enemy can grudge ;
 The statesmen we abhor, but praise the judge.
 In Israel's courts ne'er sat an Abethdim
 With more discerning eyes, or hands more clean ;
 Unbrib'd, unsought, the wretched to redress ;
 Swift of despatch, and easy of access.

The 4th of July was a very sultry day, and the council chamber at Whitehall was of moderate dimensions, but upwards of 130 of the "elect" legislators had on that day assembled in that place, to receive into their own hands the supreme authority of the nation; and, "seated round the room on chairs," waited for the entrance of the lord-general and his officers. After a brief delay, Cromwell appeared, followed by the chiefs of his military council. Every one present at once rose and uncovered.* Upon this, Cromwell also removed his hat, and, advancing up the room to the "middle window," took his station there with a considerable body of his officers on either hand, and, "leaning upon the back of a chayre, with his own back to the window †," proceeded to address that remarkable meeting in a speech of profoundest art. It occupied upwards of an hour in delivery, and is said ‡ to have been pronounced in so excellent a manner, "as sufficiently manifested that—as the lord general himself was thoroughly persuaded—the spirit of God acted in him, and by him." The convention had by this time resumed their seats, but Cromwell and his officers still stood.

He began by observing, that no doubt the summons they had all received, would have explained to them the cause of their being in that room—he had, however, something more "significant" than that summons to offer them now, in the shape of "an instrument drawn up by the consent and advice of the

Oh! had he been content to serve the crown,
 With virtues only proper to the gown;
 Or had the rankness of the soil been freed
 From cockle, that oppress'd the noble seed,
 David for him his tuneful harp had strung,
 And heaven had wanted one immortal song!
 But wild ambition loves to slide, not stand,
 And fortune's ice preters to virtue's land.
 Achitophel, grown weary to possess
 A lawful fame and lazy happiness,
 Disdain'd the golden fruit to gather free,
 And lent the crowd his arm to shake the tree.

* Lord Leicester's Journals, p. 147

† Ibid.

‡ By Carrington, one of his biographers. (Life of Cromwell, p. 151.)

principal officers of the army." "And," he added, "we have somewhat likewise further to say to you, for *our own exoneration*, and we hope it may be somewhat further to your satisfaction; and, therefore, seeing you sit here somewhat uneasy, by reason of the scantness of the room, and the heat of the weather, I shall contract myself with respect to that." This was merely one of those pleasant promises which orators often make and seldom keep. His very next sentence confessed what a long story he had resolved to tell.

"I have not thought it amiss, a little to mind you of that series of providences, wherein the Lord hitherto hath dispensed wonderful things to these nations, from the beginning of our troubles to this very day. If I should look much backward, we might remember the state of affairs as they were before the short, and that which was the last parliament. In what a posture the things of this nation stood, doth so well, I presume, occur to all your memories and knowledges, that I shall not need to look so far backward, nor yet to the beginning of those hostile actions that passed between the king that was, and the then parliament. And indeed, should I begin this labour, the things, that would fall necessarily before you, would rather be fit for a history, than for a discourse at this present.

"But thus far we may look back. You very well know, after divers turnings of affairs, it pleased God, much about the midst of this war, to winnow, as I may so say, the forces of this nation, and to put them into the hands of men of other principles than those that did engage at first. By what strange providences that also was brought about, would ask more time than is allotted me, to remember you of. Indeed, there are stories that do recite those transactions, and give narratives of matter of fact. But those things wherein the life and power of them lay; those strange windings and turnings of providence; those very great appearances of God, in crossing and thwarting the designs of men, that he might raise up a poor and a contemptible company

of men, neither versed in military affairs nor having much natural propensity to them even through the owning of a principle of godliness, of religion ; which, so soon as it came to be owned, the state of affairs put upon that foot of account ; how God blessed them, and all undertakings, by the rising of that most improbable, despicable, contemptible means, for that we must for ever own,—you very well know.

“ What the several successes have been, is not fit to mention at this time neither ; though I must confess I thought to have enlarged myself upon this subject, forasmuch as the considering the works of God, and the operation of his hands, *is a principal part of our duty, and a great encouragement to the strengthening of our hands, and of our faith for that which is behind.* And then having given us those marvellous dispensations, amongst other ends, for that was a most principal end,—as to us, in this revolution of affairs and issues of those successes God was pleased to give this nation and the authority that then stood, were very great things brought about, —besides those dints that were upon those nations and places where they were carried on, even in the civil affairs, to the bringing offenders to justice, *even the greatest*, —to the bringing the state of this government *to the name, at least, of a commonwealth*, —to the searching and sifting of all places and persons. The king removed, and brought to justice, and many great ones with him ; the house of peers laid aside ; the house of commons, the representatives of the people of England, itself winnowed, sifted, and brought to a handful ; —you may very well remember !”

Having thus obscurely reminded them of what they very clearly remembered, the lord-general went on to characterise the year 1648, more especially, as the “ most memorable that ever this nation saw,” by reason of “ so many insurrections, invasions, secret designs, open and public attempts, quashed in so short a time by the very signal appearances of God himself.” He then briefly referred to the defection of the presbyterians, and their treason

able attempts to treat with the king, "whereby we should have put into his hands all that cause and interest we had opposed, and have had nothing secured to us but a little piece of paper." He next, in a strain of enthusiasm, recalled "what God wrought in Ireland and Scotland, until the Lord had finished all further trouble upon the matter, by the marvellous salvation wrought at Worcester." And then followed that elaborate and worthless attempt to vindicate the dispersion of the long parliament which has been elsewhere quoted*, and by which the speaker could scarcely himself have hoped to mystify the apprehensions of his hearers.†

Passing from this subject with the manner of one who had discharged an irksome and painful task, his tone suddenly changed. He addressed himself more

* See *antè*, p. 79 to p. 89.

† Twelve
the long p
nobler occ

though broken body, has been already glanced at in these pages. A passage from Mrs. Hutchinson's delightful memoirs, will more distinctly describe the generous thoughts that supported them in their unmerited exile from power. Speaking of her husband, she says he was travelling up from his country business "when news met him upon the road near London, that Cromwell had broken the parliament. Notwithstanding, he went on and found divers of the members there, resolved to submit to this providence of God, and to wait till he should clear their integrity, and to disprove those people who had taxed them of ambition, by sitting still, when they had friends enough in the army, city, and country, to have disputed the matter, and probably vanquished these usurpers. *They thought that if they should vex the land by war among themselves, the late subdued enemies, royalists and presbyterians, would have an opportunity to prevail on their dissensions, to the ruin of both: if these should govern well, and righteously, and moderately, they should enjoy the benefit of their good government, and would not envy them the honourable toil; if they did otherwise, they should be ready to assist and vindicate their oppressed country, when the ungrateful people were made sensible of their true champions and protectors.* Colonel Hutchinson, in his own particular, was very glad of this release from that employment, which he managed with fidelity and uprightness, but not only without delight, but with a great deal of trouble and expense, in the contest for truth and

Nor can I refrain from giving another book, which will show what the nature of his occupations were. "He carefully attended," his wife says, in a passage which describes as well the country residences of Vane and Scot, "to the administration of justice in the country, and to the putting in execution of those wholesome laws and statutes of the land provided for the orderly regulation of the people. And it was wonderful how, in a short space, he reformed several abuses and customary neglects in that part of the country where he lived, which being a rich fruitful vale, drew abundance of vagrant people to come and exercise the idle trade of wandering and begging; but he took such courses that there was very suddenly not a beggar left in the country, and all the poor in every town so maintained and provided for, as they never were so liberally maintained and relieved before nor since."

directly to the individuals so strangely assembled before him, and declared his persuasion that they were men who knew the Lord. He congratulated them on their sudden call, and told them to be proud that it had not been of their own seeking. "Now do you know," he continued, "that what hath been done in the dissolution of that parliament, was as necessary to be done, as the preservation of this cause; and that necessity, that led us to do that, hath brought us to this issue, of exercising an extraordinary way and course, to draw yourselves together upon this account,—that you are men who know the Lord, and have made observations of his marvellous dispensations, and may be trusted with this cause. It remains,—for I shall not acquaint you further with what relates to your taking upon you this great business, that being contained in this paper, in my hand, which I do offer presently to you to read;—having done that which we thought to have done upon this ground of necessity,—which we know was not feigned necessity but real, and true, to the end the government might not be at a loss, to the end we might manifest to the world the singleness of our hearts, and integrity, *who did those things not to grasp after the power ourselves, to keep it in a military hand, no not for a day, but, as far as God enables us with strength and ability, to put it into the hands that might be called from several parts of the nation*;—this necessity I say, and we hope may say, for ourselves, this integrity, of labouring to divest the sword of the power and authority, in the civil administration of it, hath been that that hath moved us, to conclude of this course; and having done that, we think we cannot, with the discharge of our consciences, but offer somewhat unto you, as I said before, for our own exoneration, it having been the practice of others who have voluntarily and out of sense of duty divested themselves, and devolved the government into the hands of others; it having been the practice, where such things have been done, and very consonant to reason, together with the authority, to lay a charge, in such a way, as we hope we do

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and to press to the duty, which we have a word or two to offer to you. Truly, God hath called you to this work by, I think, as wonderful providences, as ever passed upon the sons of men in so short a time. And truly I think, taking the arguments of necessity (for the government must not fall); take the appearances of the will of God in this thing; I am sure you would have been loth it should have been resigned into the hands of wicked men and enemies. I am sure God would not have it so. It comes, therefore, to you by way of necessity; it comes to you by the way of the wise providence of God, though through weak hands; and therefore I think, it coming through our hands though such as we are, it may not be taken ill, if we offer to you something, as to the discharge of that trust which is incumbent upon you. And, although I seem to speak that which may have the face of a charge, it is a very humble one; and *he that speaks it means to be a servant to you* who are called to the exercise of the supreme authority; to discharge that, which he conceives is his duty, in his own and his fellow's names, to you who will, I hope, take it in good part. And truly I shall not hold you long in that, because I hope it is written in your hearts to approve yourselves to God; only this scripture I shall remember to you, which hath been much upon my spirit; Hosea xi. ver. 12. 'Yet Judah ruleth with God, and is faithful among the saints.' It is said before, 'Ephraim did compass God about with lyes, and Israel with deceit.' How God hath been compassed about with fastings, and thanksgivings, and other exercises and transactions, I think we have all to lament. Why, truly, you are called by God to rule with him and for him, and you are called to be faithful with the saints, who have been somewhat instrumental to your call! 'He that ruleth over men,' the scripture saith, 'he must be just, ruling in the fear of God.'"

One very cool inference may be detected in the midst of all this enthusiastic heat. It is clear, that in so emphatically divesting the sword of all power and autho-

rity, he meant it to go forth to the world that, in the event of any unexpected dissolution of the present "supreme authority," it would be impossible for the "council of officers" again to consider itself competent to provide for the weal and happiness of the nation. Some new government must then be formed, of a nature till then untried. He had himself appeared in the council chamber that day to separate the sword, for ever, from the retention of power over the state, and to profess that his fellow officers as well as himself, were thenceforward only servants to an authority more supreme.

Proceeding to that "humble charge," which now included all the duty that he and those officers, servants of the state, had to offer to its governors, he enforced the great advice, which still and always, in his worst temper as in his most worthy, declared the greatness of his mind. He would pray, he said, that they might "exercise the judgment of mercy and truth," and still be "faithful to the saints," however those saints might differ respecting forms of worship. "It is better," he continued, "to pray for you, than to counsel you in that, that you may exercise the judgment of mercy and truth! I say, it is better for you to do it, than to advise you; better to ask wisdom from heaven for you; which, I am confident, many thousands of saints do this day, and have done, and will do, through the permission of God, and his assistance to advise you! Only, truly, I thought of a scripture likewise, that seems to be but a scripture of common application to every man, as a Christian, wherein he is counselled to ask wisdom; and he is told what is that wisdom that is from above; 'it is pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be intreated, full of good fruits, without partiality, without hypocrisy.' And my thoughts ran thus upon this, that the executing of the judgment of truth, for that is the judgment that you must have wisdom from above for, and that is pure, and that will teach you to execute the judgment of truth; then, if God give you hearts to be easy to be intreated, to be peaceable spirits, to be full of good fruits,

bearing good fruits to the nation, to men as men, to the people of God, to all in their several stations,—this wisdom will teach you to execute the judgment of mercy and truth ; and I have little more to say to this ; I shall rather bend my prayers for you in that behalf (as I said before) and I know many others do also. Truly, the judgment of truth will teach you to be as just towards an unbeliever, as towards a believer ; and it is our duty to be so. *I confess, I have often said it foolishly, if I would miscarry, I would rather do it to a believer than to an unbeliever ; perhaps it is a paradox ; but let us take heed of doing it to either, exercising injustice to either.* If God fill our heart with such a spirit as Moses and Paul had, which was not only a spirit for the believers among the people of God, but for the whole people (he would have died for them ; and so Paul to his countrymen according to the flesh, he would have died for them) truly, this will help us to execute the judgment of truth, and mercy also.’

In the same truly beneficent spirit, however confusedly expressed, of religious toleration—that first and most sacred principle of civil government—Cromwell added this earnest and touching exhortation: “I hope, whatever others may think, it ought to be to us all matter of rejoicing, that, as one person, our Saviour, was touched with our infirmities, that he might be pitiful, I do think this assembly, thus called, is very much touched with the common infirmity of the saints ; and I hope that will teach you to pity others ; that so saints of one sort may not be our interest, but that we may have respect unto all, though of different judgments ; and, if I did seem to speak any thing, that might seem to reflect upon those of the presbyterian judgment, I think, if you have not an interest of love *for them*, you will hardly answer this faithfulness to his saints. I confess, in my pilgrimage, and some exercises I have had abroad, I did read that scripture often, in Isaiah, xli. 19. when God gave me, and some of my fellows, what he would do there and elsewhere ; which he performed for us ; and what would

he do ? To what end ? ‘That he might plant in the wilderness the cedar, and the shittah-tree, and the myrtle tree, and the palm-tree together.’ To what end ? ‘That they might know, and consider, and understand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this ;’ and that the Lord hath created it ; that he wrought all salvation and deliverance, which he hath wrought, for the good of the whole flock ; therefore I beseech you (but I think I need not) have a care of the *whole flock* ; love all the sheep, love the lambs, all ; and tender all, and cherish all, and countenance all, in all things that are good ; and, *if the poorest christian, the most mistaken christian, should desire to live peaceably and quietly under you, soberly and humbly desire to lead a life in godliness and honesty, let him be protected ! . .* I think I need as little advise you concerning the propagation of the gospel, and encouraging such ministers, and such a ministry, as are faithful in the land, upon whom the true character is ; men that have truly received the spirit for such an use ; which christians will be well able to discern, and do ; men that have received gifts from him that ascended on high, and led captivity captive, for the work before-mentioned. And truly the apostle, Romans xii., when he hath summoned up all the mercies of God, and the goodness of God, and hath discoursed of the foundations of the gospel, and of the several things that are the subject of his discourse, in the eleven first chapters ; after he hath besought them to offer up their souls and bodies a living sacrifice to God, he beseecheth them not to esteem more highly of themselves, than they ought ; but that they would be humble, and sober-minded, and not stretch themselves beyond their line, but they would have a care to those, that had received gifts to the uses there mentioned. I speak not, it is far from my heart, for a ministry, deriving itself through the papacy, and pretending to that, which is so much insisted upon to be succession. The true succession is through the spirit, given in that measure that the spirit is given ;

and that is a right succession. But I need not discourse of these things to you ; I am persuaded you are taught of God in a greater measure than myself, in these things ; indeed I have but one word more to say, and that is (though in that, perhaps, I shall shew my weakness) — it is by way of encouragement to you to go on in this work."

But most striking and characteristic of all, were the closing passages of this extraordinary address, where, kindling into an apparent passion of enthusiastic fervour, Cromwell spoke as if Futurity had suddenly revealed her secrets to his soul. The only war in England, hereafter, he exclaimed, should be that of the Lamb against his enemies ! To the very threshold of the door, to the edge of the promises and prophecies, they had come at last ! Out of the depths of the sea, God was about to bring home his people — even the very Jews themselves he would bring home to their station, out of the isles of the sea ! And all this was to be the work of the men he saw before him — who had probably never seen each other's faces till that day — but who had answered a divine and miraculous call — who had owned Jesus Christ, and whom Jesus Christ had owned ! No man living would have thought, three little months before, to have seen such a company taking upon them the supreme authority ! But they had been called with a high call, and would do all that the good English people wished to bring them to their liberties ! I subjoin in detail these singular passages. They express, to its uttermost depths, the character of Cromwell, in its most startling phases of profound artifice, and profounder self-delusion. No one, with a knowledge of the result that followed on so fast, can fail to discover in them the violent self-seeker, alternately quieting his nerves and encouraging his passions with a selfish religious creed ; but yielding, in the same instant, to just so much of sincere delusion as the faith in his own immense power was likely to generate in such a man, — and to just so much of real enthusiasm as can never be

wholly separated, even in its falsest phrensies, from a mind of that peculiar order. Still be it kept in view, that through all, whether true or false, there yet sprang up his own advantage and advancement. There was no danger to him in revealing a false futurity, since by his own side he held fast the key of the true one ; but how dangerous to those elect legislators, that they should be made responsible for blessings, over the generation of which they were soon to have no control—and that the people, to whom they were to give a new life of power and love, should speedily be fated to discover them incapable of common self-existence ! In that mean position they were placed by these rhapsodies from Cromwell, to which they listened this day, no doubt, in unsuspecting gratitude.

“ I confess I never looked to see such a day as this, it may be nor you when Jesus Christ shall be owned, as he is this day, and in this world. Jesus Christ is owned this day by you all, and you own him by your willingness in appearing here ; and you manifest this (as far as poor creatures can) to be a day of the power of Christ by your willingness. I know you remember that scripture in Psalm cx. 3. The people shall be willing in the day of thy power. God doth manifest it to be a day of the power of Jesus Christ !

“ Having through so much blood, and so many trials as have been upon these nations, made this to be one of the great issues thereof, to have a people called to the supreme authority upon such an avowed account, God hath owned his Son by this ; and you, by your willingness, do own Jesus Christ ; and therefore, for my part, I confess I did never look to see such a sight. Perhaps, you are not known by face one to another ; but we must tell you this, that indeed we have not allowed ourselves in the choice of one person, in whom we had not this good hope, that there was faith in Jesus Christ, and love unto all his saints and people. And thus God hath owned you in the face and eyes of the world ; and thus, by your coming hither, have you owned him ; as

it is in Isaiah, xliii. 21. It is an high expression, and look to your own hearts, whether now or hereafter God shall apply it to you. ‘This people (saith he) I have formed for myself, that they might show forth my praise.’ It is a memorable place, and I hope, not unfitly applied; God apply it to each of your hearts. I shall not descant upon the words, they are plain. *You are as like the forming of God as ever people were.* If any man should ask you one by one, and should tender a book to you, you would dare to swear, that neither directly nor indirectly, did you seek to come hither. You have been passive in coming hither, in being called hither, and that is an active word, ‘This people I have formed. Consider the circumstances by which you are called together; through what difficulties, through what strivings, through what blood, you are come hither. *Neither you nor I, nor no man living, three months ago, had a thought to have seen such a company, taking upon them, or rather being called to the supreme authority, and therefore know now your call!*

“Indeed, I think, as it may be truly said, that never was a supreme authority, consisting of so numerous a body as you are, which I believe, are above one hundred and forty, ever in such a way of owning God, and being owned by him; and therefore I say also, *never a people formed for such a purpose (so called) if it were time to compare your standing with those that have been called by the suffrages of the people. Who can tell how soon God may FIT THE PEOPLE for such a thing, and who would desire any thing more in the world, but that it might be so? I would all the Lord’s people were prophets, I would they were fit to be called, and FIT TO CALL; and it is the longing of our hearts, to see them once own the interest of Jesus Christ.* And give me leave to say, if I know any thing in the world, what is there more like to win the people to the interest and love of God? Nay, what a duty will lie upon you, to have your conversation such, as that they may love you, that they may see you lay out your time and

spirits for them? *Is not this the most likely way to bring them to their liberties?* And do you not, by this, put it upon God to find the time and the season for it, by pouring forth his spirit; at least by convincing them, that, as men fearing God have fought them out of their thralldom and bondage, under the royal power; so men fearing God rule them in the fear of God, and take care to administer good unto them. But this is some digression. *I say, own your call, for indeed it is marvellous, and it is of God, and it hath been unprojected, unthought of by you and us;* and that hath been the way God hath dealt with us all along, to keep things from our eyes, that what we have acted, we have seen nothing before us, which also is a witness, in some measure, to our integrity. *I say, you are called with a high call!* And why should you be afraid to say, or think, that this way may be the door to usher in things that God hath promised and prophesied of, and to set the hearts of his people to wait for and expect? We know who they are that shall war with the Lamb against his enemies. They shall be a people called, chosen, and faithful; and in the military way (we must speak it without flattery) I believe you know it, he hath acted with them, and for them; and now in the civil power and authority; and these are not ill prognostications for that good we wait for. Indeed, I do think something is at the door; we are at the threshold; and therefore it becomes us to lift up our heads, and to encourage ourselves in the Lord; and we have some of us thought it our duty to endeavour this way, not vainly looking on that prophecy in Daniel, ‘And the kingdom shall not be delivered to another people.’ Truly, God hath brought it into your hands, by his owing, and blessing, and calling out a military power; God hath persuaded their hearts to be instrumental in calling you, and this hath been set upon our hearts, and upon all the faithful in the land; it may be that it is not our duty to deliver it over to any other people, and that scripture may be fulfilling now to us. But I may be beyond my line.

“ But, I thank God, I have my hopes exercised in these things, and so I am persuaded are yours. Truly, seeing that these things are so, that you are at the edge of the promises and prophecies, at least, if there were neither promise for this nor prophecy, you are coveting the best things, endeavouring after the best things ; and, as I have said elsewhere, if I were to chuse the meanest officer in the army, or commonwealth, I would chuse a godly man that hath principles, especially where trust is to be committed, because I know where to have a man that hath principles. I believe if any man of you should chuse a servant, you would do so ; and I would all our magistrates were so chosen, that there may be some effects of this. It is our duty to chuse men that fear the Lord, to praise the Lord, yea, such as the Lord forms for himself, and he expects not praises from others. This, being so, puts me in mind of another scripture, Psal. lxxviii., which indeed is a glorious prophecy, and I am persuaded of the gospel, or it may be of the Jews ; also there it is prophesied, *‘ He will bring his people again out of the depths of the sea, as once he led Israel through the Red Sea ; ’* and it may be, some do think God is bringing the Jews home to their station from the isles of the sea ! Surely, when God sets up the glory of the gospel-church, it shall be gathering people out of deep waters, out of the multitude of waters ! such are his people, drawn out of the multitudes of the nations, and people of the world ! And that psalm will be very glorious in many other parts of it, *‘ When he gave the word, great was the company of them that published it. Kings of the armies did fly apace, and she that tarried at home divided the spoil. And, although ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold. ’* And, indeed, the triumph of that psalm is exceeding high and great, and God is accomplishing it ! and the close of it closeth with my heart, and I am persuaded will with yours also ! *‘ God shakes hills and mountains, and they reel ; and*

God hath a hill too, and his hill is as the hill of Bashan, and the chariots of God are twenty thousand of angels, and God will dwell upon this hill for ever.' "

Relapsing into his ordinary manner, the lord-general added these words: — "Truly, I am sorry that I have troubled you, *in such a place of heat as this is*, so long; all that I have to say in mine own name, and in the names of my fellow officers, who have joined with me in this work, is, that we shall commend you to the grace of God, and to the guidance of his spirit; having thus far served you, or rather our Lord Jesus Christ in it, we are, as we hope, and shall be, ready in our stations, according as the providence of God shall lead us, to be subservient to the work of God, and the authority which, we reckon, God hath set over us. And although we have no formal thing to present you with, to which the hands and outward visible expressions of the hearts of the officers of the three nations are set; yet we may say for them, and we may also with confidence for our brethren at sea, with whom neither in Scotland, nor Ireland, nor at sea, hath any artifice been used, to persuade their approbations to this work; yet we can say, that their consent and affections hath flowed in to us from all parts beyond our expectations; and we are confident we may say with all confidence, that we have had their approbations, and full consent, unsought indeed to the other work; so that you have their hearts and affections in this; and not only they, but we have very many papers from the churches of God, throughout the nation, wonderfully both approving what hath been done in removing obstacles, and approving what we have done in this very thing. And, having said this, I shall trouble you no more; but if you will be pleased that this instrument may be read, which I have signed by the advice of the council of officers, we shall then leave you to your own thoughts, and to the guidance of God, to order and dispose of yourselves for further meetings as you shall see cause."

Having thus closed this memorable address, this "grave, Christian, and seasonable speech," as his con-

temporary historian* terms it, he placed upon the table a formal instrument, engrossed on parchment, and bearing his hand and seal, by which, with the advice of his council of officers, he devolved and entrusted the supreme authority and government of the commonwealth into the hands of the persons there met; and declared that they were to be acknowledged for that authority to whom all persons within this nation should yield obedience and subjection; that they were to sit till the 3d of November, 1654; and that, three months before that time, they should make choice of other persons to succeed them, who were not to sit longer than twelve months, and were then to determine respecting the succession of the government.†

And now, to all outward appearance, Cromwell stood in the proud position of one who, having virtually held the supreme government of England for upwards of six weeks, had freely surrendered it from himself for ever, and intrusted it to a convention of able, faithful, high-spirited, and holy men, with whom were to rest, not only the appointment of their successors in power, but the entire disposal of his own poor services, due, as from a private man, to the supreme governors of his

* Carrington.

† It is a remarkable circumstance that this instrument of government, of the date of the 4th of July, 1653, is nowhere to be found in the state records of the time. It has perished with the act for dissolving the long parliament and providing a new representative. The following, however, is the official description of the instrument, in the *Mercurius Politicus*. After a brief sketch of Cromwell's speech, the writer says, "Which being ended, his lordship produced an instrument under his own hand and seal, whereby he did, with the advice of his officers, devolve and intrust the supreme authority and government of this commonwealth into the hands of the persons then met; who, or any forty of them, are to be held and acknowledged the supreme authority of the nation; unto whom all persons within the same, and the territories thereof, are to yield obedience and subjection. And that they should sit till the 3d of November, 1654. Three months before that time, they should make choice of other persons to succeed them, who are not to sit longer than a twelve-month; but it is left to them to take care for a succession in government. Which instrument being delivered to the persons aforesaid, his lordship commended them to the grace of God." Mr. Godwin not unfairly suggests it as an artifice of Cromwell, that, while the authority of this assembly stood on so precarious a basis, he should give them an existence of sixteen months, and leave them to choose their successors; that he might thereby create a permanent and excite in his countrymen an anxious wish for a government more stable, and that should command a greater degree of respect at home and abroad.

country. His resignation had been accompanied with all the forms that could declare it final and irrevocable. A fixed term was named for the existence of the present authority, and in the nomination of their successors he had reserved no personal control. Nay, more. A majority of those into whose hands he had just placed the instrument of government were men, as the result soon after proved, of whom his personal knowledge was little, and his means of personal influence or control still less. Finally, he had not reserved to himself a seat in their councils, nor cared to stipulate that even his officers should sit there. He had submitted in all things, and exacted in nothing. As lord-general of the army he remained, indeed, servant to the state. In a political sense, he was nothing more than the brewer's son of Huntingdon.

Yet, if the majority present had only thought more of earth and less of heaven, it might have been manifest to all, that Cromwell stood in that room on the threshold of his most ambitious designs, that his golden dream was well-nigh out, and that the glittering bauble he had so long set his heart upon was, at last, settling itself upon his head. There had been something in his manner, while he offered all these humble sacrifices, which half betrayed the secret of his soul. As his fancy kindled into the later and more passionate raptures of the exhortation, a characteristic incident was noted, which lord Leicester has recorded in his journal. "He grew very hot," his lordship writes, "and putt off his cloke, and gave it to one of the coronells, who tooke it, and held it like a servant. This was don as the king would sometimes do in great assemblys, but no man else."

The colonels, indeed, knew it all — every man who had been nominated by Cromwell himself to that convention knew it — and each had his part to play. A still larger body of honest men remained, and honest and enthusiastic as they were, they, too, had *their* parts to play. The instruments of Cromwell's ambition were as often sincere as false. His favourite policy was to win open

trust, and pay it back with secret treachery. But such trust is most frequent in the true, and it was accordingly yet more by means of the honest than of the base that he strode into his throne. Here was a majority of honest, and not unwise, fanatics. He could rely upon their mode of action. He knew that they would conduct their proceedings as if the Divinity himself had, indeed, called them to their office. He had nothing of stratagem to fear from them. He knew that with himself they would keep the faith of honest men, if not of politic ones. He had in any case provided, besides, a secret current of counteraction against them in a formidable minority of their own body — a safety-valve in the moment of danger, which with his own hand he could shut or open. Their first legislative efforts, he was well aware, would raise formidable discontents in the people against them; the divine call he had imposed upon them was a death-warrant to class-interests which would at once range themselves in fierce opposition; the lawyers, from the commonest scrivener up to the lord commissioner Whitelocke, would be called to arms for their fees; the ecclesiastical ministry and their patrons would be summoned forth in defence of advowsons and of tithes; the officers would have good reason to tremble for the security of their recent endowments; and what protection would all these think of in their hour of alarm, if not of that which he could afford them? He knew himself their sole refuge. Thus would vanish the last solid resistance to his daring project—and he had found far more conscientious resistance to it, even among his own relatives and creatures, than he had been at all prepared for—and he might ascend the chair of the protectorate as indeed the saviour of the state, the protector of her interests, the sole apparent refuge of her civil and religious institutions, the composer of her quarrels and confusion, the harbinger of order and of peace. And this was the grave cheat of the 4th of July, 1653.

When Cromwell and his officers had left the room,

it was merely voted that the convention should meet on the following morning at eight o'clock, in the old parliament house at Westminster. There and then they met accordingly, and devoted the greater part of the day to prayers.* "And the service," one of the body relates to us, "was performed by the members amongst themselves, eight or ten speaking in prayer to God, and some briefly from the word; much of the presence of Christ and his spirit appearing that day, to the great gladding of the hearts of many; some affirming they never enjoyed so much of the spirit and presence of Christ in any of the meetings and exercises of religion in all their lives as they did that day."†

After this auspicious commencement of their legislative duties, they elected a speaker in the person of Mr. Francis Rouse, a Devonshire man, of very good fortune, and provost of Eton College. They then separated for that day.

The record of the second day's proceedings has a more business-like aspect. After prayer, much more brief, which, according to the author of the "Exact Relation," "was daily performed by one member or other, as they were found free to perform it, they proceeded to call over the house; read and laid up the instrument of their empowering; chose a clerk ‡, and after a serjeant-at-arms; and chose a committee to consider what offices and attendants were necessary to be taken in, and to consider of the fees and salaries of such as should be employed; which, accordingly, was done and confirmed by the house." Their next action tended to show the correctness of the judgment formed by Cromwell. They sent a deputation, headed by sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, to invite the lord-general himself §,

* This fervent religious exercise lasted from eight o'clock in the morning till seven o'clock in the evening. The Dutch delegates then in London, however, carnal self-seekers as they were, transmitted to their republic no other note of the prayers preferred, than that one member prayed for a peace with the high and mighty states, their constituents.

† Exact Relation.

‡ Scobell was continued in this office, and Birkhead elected serjeant-at-arms.

§ They renewed to the lord-general also the offer of the palace of Hampton Court, in exchange for his house at Newhall.

the three major-generals, Harrison, Desborough, and Lambert, with colonel Tomlinson, to assist in their deliberations as members of the house. This invitation was of course graciously accepted.

On the following day, they voted that all addresses should be made to them under the name of "the parliament of the commonwealth of England." This passed by a division of sixty-five to forty-six. Their next movement of importance was the appointment of a new council of state, which they resolved should consist of thirty-one members. They left the old thirteen untouched, adding eighteen more. The mere names in this council would suffice to repel the favourite imputations of slander against its framers, since they made no effort to thrust members into it who had not already some public consideration or importance.* Two days after its appointment, another entire sitting of the house was devoted to prayer, "which accordingly," the "Exact Relation" tells us, "was done by the members, principally by such as had not done service before, when also the lord-general was present, and it was a very comfortable day." The practice after this period seems to have been very regularly observed—that, as soon as about twelve members were met, they began with prayer; and so continued praying, one after another, till a sufficient number had assembled to make up a house, when the speaker took the chair.

A special prayer-day, that is, a day entirely devoted to prayer, had generally a special object. Thus we find among the proceedings that, on the 12th, "the house having spent the day before in prayer to God for his counsel and direction in their affairs, a committee was

* I subjoin the list.—Oliver Cromwell, lord-general; John Lambert, major-general; Thomas Harrison, major-general; John Desborough, major-general. Colonel Anthony Stapley; Colonel William Sydenham; Colonel Philip Jones; Colonel Matthew Tomlinson; Colonel Robert Bennet; Sir Gilbert Pickering, bart.; Walter Strickland, John Carew; Samuel Moyer; Richard Salway; Lord Viscount Lisle; Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, bart.; Sir Charles Wolesey, bart.; Sir James Hope; lieutenant-general Charles Fleetwood; colonel John Hewson; colonel Henry Lawrence; colonel Richard Norton; Edward Montagu; Charles Howard; alderman Titchborne; Richard Major; Hugh Courteney; Thomas St. Nicholas; Dennis Hollister; Andrew Broughton; John Williams.

appointed to draw up a declaration, to invite the people of this commonwealth to seek unto the Lord for the same blessing." This paper soon after appeared, and was sent round, for immediate promulgation, to all the various sheriffs and civil officers throughout England. Great care is taken in it to abstain from reflection or remark on the conduct or the dissolution of the late parliament, and no other reference is made to the summons by which they had themselves assembled than in the simple statement, — that being in an extraordinary manner called together, and required to assume the supreme government, they had judged it meet and requisite to take upon themselves the charge assigned. They further remark, that though, "compassed about," as they were, "with much weakness and human frailty," they were tender of pressing covenants and engagements on the people, yet they expected and believed that all peaceable and good citizens would conduct themselves suitably to the protection they looked for from the present authority. They were ample in expressing their purpose to proceed in all things as might best conduce to the good of all, and in declaring the watchfulness they would in every respect exercise. We will be as tender, they said, "of the lives, estates, liberties, just rights and properties of all others, as we are of ourselves and our posterities, whom we expect still to be governed by successive parliaments." Some remarkable passages followed. They revealed, though in language of noble elevation, that statesmanship was to be attended hereafter with certain mysterious and extravagant results which men could never have dreamt of until then. They fairly proclaimed the approaching advent of a reign of saints. They marked themselves out, in the midst of much honesty, and not a little of the true sense of government's wisest functions, as at once the instruments and the victims of Cromwell. Lest the people should think too highly of the means they were about to display of conferring happiness and order on the land, they declared, at the very outset, that the ultimate end they

had in view was one which was utterly unattainable. But in no mean or vulgar strain was this done—in nothing of the debased spirit of fanaticism which has been attributed to them—but in language which was worthy of even the sublime source from which they sought its inspiration, and with a simplicity of soul which, while it too surely disclosed the sincerity of their own delusions, spoke not less surely for the proportionate success of Cromwell's scheme.

After calling the attention of the people to the great works recently done in England, "which have much filled all our enemies with amazement, and our friends with admiration," they thus proceed:—"Yet we cannot but acknowledge, that we are not yet at rest, nor can believe we have yet enjoyed or seen enough to accomplish the ends of God; or satisfy the thoughts of men for that vast expence of blood and treasure, which could not have been endured with any patience, but in hope that, at length, those bitter pangs and throes would make some way for that long expected birth of peace, freedom, and happiness, both to the souls and bodies of the Lord's people. And although we do not see it fully brought forth, yet we do not despair, but, in God's due time, it shall be so; and the dark black clouds of the night shall fly before the bright morning star, and the shakings of heaven and earth make way for the desire of all nations! Nay, there are many things which make us hope the time is near at hand. *We see the clouds begin to scatter, and the dark shadows fly away! streams of light appear, and the day is surely dawned!*"

Pursuing this through other scriptural allusions, they added, with a noble fervour, "And as we believe the Lord hath never yet stept back, or withdrawn his mighty arm, after he had gone so far, and done so much, and had made his people willing and desirous still to follow him; so, we also hope, his great and free goodness will not forsake his people here, or suffer them to forsake him, or to deal falsely with him in his cause, till he hath accomplished his great works, and brought

about his great ends, whose gifts and callings are without repentance ! Is the Lord's hand shortened, that he cannot save ? Is he a man that he should turn, repent, withdraw, or look back ? Shall he bring to the birth, and shall he not give strength enough to bring forth ? *He is the same God, and changeth not*, and if this be of God, it shall stand ; and lett every one take heed of fighting against God. This is all we say. If it be from God, let him prosper and bless it ; *but if not, let it fall, though we fall before it.*"

In the same spirit of exalted humility and faith, they thus concluded. " However it shall please the Lord," they said, " to do by us, or to deal with us, yet we humbly desire that ourselves and all the people of God may be still faithful and fervent with him, wrestling in prayers and supplications, till he shall fully raise up his own tabernacle, and build his temple with his own spirit, which he hath promised to pour upon all flesh ! and raise up governors after his own heart, and teachers after his own will, to make exactors peace, and officers righteousness ! that he may overcome the evil of the world with his goodness, and fill the whole earth with his glory ! that his will may be done on earth as now in heaven ! that righteousness may spring out of the earth, and may dwell here, and righteousness and peace may kiss each other ! that all his people may have one lip, one heart, one consent, and one shoulder to bow down and worship him ! that the envy of Judah and Ephraim may be taken away ; and that they may be one of the same fold with one shepherd ! *that all wars may cease to the ends of the earth, and that all nations may turn their swords and spears into ploughshares and pruning-hooks ! that the wolf may feed with the lamb, and that the earth be full of the knowledge of God as waters cover the sea ! that upon every house or assembly may be a cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night, as is promised, and was of old upon the tabernacle ! that every one may be holy, and the pots, nay, the bells upon the horses, may be holiness to the Lord !* And that in

peace and joy we may all wait, expect, and long for his glorious coming, who is king of kings, and lord of lords, our hope and righteousness; who is still to ride on prosperously, conquering and to conquer, till he hath subdued all his enemies; and, at length, come to deliver up the kingdom to his father, that God may reign, and be all in all."

The day after the issue of this extraordinary address was famous for the first movement in the house against tithes — that grand and primary source of contention, which stood in the way of the universal peace they promised. For several successive days the discussion on the subject was continued, but without any fixed result*, and the matter was at last referred to a special committee. The law and its grievances were doomed next, and, in entire realisation of all that was anticipated by Cromwell, the work of provoking class-hostilities went indeed bravely on.

On one day alone, the 20th of July, eleven important questions were referred to as many committees. Two of these committees, for the affairs of Ireland and Scotland, had been named on the ninth; but they were now organised afresh, with some trifling alterations, and the names of Cromwell and Lambert inserted in the first, which had before stood only in the second. The other committees were for *the law*, the army, the revenue, petitions, trade and corporations, *the poor and commissions of the peace*, public debts and frauds, *prisons*, and *the advancement of learning*. The names of Cromwell and Lambert were in none of these. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper was the first person named on the com-

* The author of the "Exact Relation" describes what the chief difference was, and marks also the wise and sober judgment which relieved even the wildest projects of these singular men. "Whereas all the house, for the most part, were sensible that the difference was, some the thing were provided to the question on the dissolution of the long parliament]; others would have it removed as a grievance in the first place, and then to make provision as God should direct. In the debate, difference was made betwixt impropiators and that which was otherwise; and all seemed free and willing that impropiators should be satisfied the value; and therefore, upon the choosing of a committee for tithes, only that of incumbents was to be considered of."

mittee of the law. He was also on the committee for the advancement of learning. Barbone, represented by all the histories to have been so active and forward in every thing, that he was, in fact, the "all in all" of the assembly, was only of the committee for petitions. A committee on the great subject of tithes had been named on the day preceding. The committees varied in the number of their members, from twelve to nineteen.*

Leaving them for a while to their memorable duties, it is right that we should now record the incidents which marked the interval between the issue of the writs and their meeting in obedience to them, while the military council still held supreme power. These councils, as we already have had occasion to state, divided among themselves and their great chief all the necessary acts of government. They appointed a committee of five to finish the treaty begun by the statesmen with the Portuguese ambassador, Don Pantaleon Sa. To the same committee it was referred to consider of the treaty with the resident from France, M. de Bourdeaux. The agent of the duke of Tuscany was met by another committee, similarly appointed. But the main occurrences of the time were their reception of, and their negotiation with, the ambassadors of the United Provinces, who came, after a new battle of the 2d of June, to solicit peace — and their conduct on the sudden return of John Lilburne.†

One of the noblest of the legacies left by the long parliament to their destroyer was the great and well appointed fleet by which they had already, in all essential respects, broken the strength of the Dutch ; and one

* The author of the "Exact Relation" says, "Then the house was metho-
dized into several committees, for the better di-patch of business, so as
none might be idle, but all employed in public service. Beside the council of
state, six or seven committees were chosen and set to work, — the com-
mittee for the army, the committee for prisons and prisoners, the commit-
tee for regulating the law, the committee for justices and for the poor, the
committee for public debts, the committee for the Scots and Irish affairs,
the committee for petitions, — which committees sat daily, and took great
pains, morning and evening, almost every day in the week, to dispatch
business, and make things ready for the house; and many things were
fitted and prepared.

† See ante, notes to p. 94, 95, and 96.

of Cromwell's first acts of power was the substitution of Monk for Blake, in its chief command.* Distrusting the staunch republicanism of Blake, he obviously apprehended some hostile movement from him when he should hear of the deed that had been done. Yet had that great commander, in the course he really took, administered to Cromwell and his creatures an ever memorable lesson. As soon as the news of the forcible dispersion of his friends and associates reached him, he directed an order to be issued throughout the fleet, that "it was not the business of seamen to mind state affairs, but to keep foreigners from fooling us."† There, as in every other action of the life of Blake, spoke out the heroic spirit which moved, in later but not such glorious years, the passionate love and admiration of the English people at the mention of the name of Nelson. Monk was already on his way to assume supreme command, but Blake not less cheerfully submitted to command under him.

News of greater promise, or received with greater rapture, than that which told of the dissolution of the formidable parliament of statesmen, was never heard in the Dutch commonwealth. They seem to have beheld already England at their feet. Resolved, at all events, to make a strenuous effort to bring her there, they at once renewed their shattered fleets; and Van Tromp, having safely convoyed the outward bound trade of Holland, returned immediately with a force of a hundred sail to seek the English on their own coasts. He was accompanied by de Ruyter, de Witt, and Evertsens.

Monk, assisted by Dean, Penn, and Lawson, met the Dutch admiral off the North Foreland, with about an equal number of ships. The action began on the 2nd of June, and lasted for two entire days. On the

* Clarendon thus describes the three admirals. "Blake, a man well known, but not thought entirely enough devoted to Cromwell; Monk, whom he called out of Scotland as his own creature; and Dean, a mere seaman, grown from a common mariner to the reputation of a bold and excellent officer."

† Lives, English and Foreign, vol. ii. p. 103.

night of the first, it was found that the Dutch had lost two sail; but for this superiority the English had paid a heavy price in the death of their great admiral Dean. Struck, at the very commencement of the action, by a chain shot from the Dutch vice-admiral's ship, he fell lifeless at the feet of Monk. He was a man so worshipped by the seamen, from the midst of whom he sprung, that the knowledge of his fate at such a time might have turned the fortune of the fight. But the cool sagacity of Monk did not desert him. Quietly unfastening the cloak he wore, he dropt it over the dead body; went on with the issue of his orders as though Dean had merely turned aside; the English seamen, unconscious of the fall of their beloved commander, fought with their accustomed gallantry; and before the dawn of the morning of the third, Blake's arrival, with eighteen ships, placed the issue beyond further doubt. Van Tromp fought on that day with the most determined courage; but Blake's arrival acted as a panic to his fleet; his orders were disobeyed; several of his captains fled in confusion from the superior fire of their opponents*; and he was ultimately obliged to seek shelter within the Wielinngs, and along the shallow coast of Zeeland. Eleven of his ships had been captured, eight sunk, and two blown up with gunpowder; 1300 of his men had been left behind him as prisoners, and in proportion, on his side, were the killed and wounded. The English loss was slight in comparison.

Cromwell received this news, which arrived in London before the meeting of the convention, with transports of rapture. It was not his victory—it was the victory of the government he had overthrown†—of the statesmen he had pursued with ridicule and insult

* It would seem from the letters in Thurloe that the English fought at the distance of half cannon shot till the enemy fell into confusion, and began to fly, when their disabled ships were surrounded and captured by the English frigates

† This is not denied by impartial historians. "The fleet," says Dr. Lingard, "owed its success to the exertions of the government which Cromwell had overturned."

—it was more especially the result of those exertions of Vane which had drawn down his signal hatred on that statesman*—but it was an occurrence of superior good fortune, of which none knew better to avail themselves than he; and in every quarter of the country he ordered it to be proclaimed as a sudden manifestation of the Lord, an “answer to the faith and prayer of God’s people.” His council issued at the same time, on his suggestion, a declaration of extraordinary fervour, in which the whole people of England were called upon† to set apart a day of public thanksgiving to the Almighty for such singular mercies. We shall conclude our exhortation, they said, with that of David. “O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever. Let the redeemed of the Lord say so, whom he hath redeemed from the hand of the enemy. O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever. Let Israel now say that his mercy endureth for ever. Let the house of Aaron now say that his mercy endureth for ever. Let them now, that fear the Lord, say, that his mercy endureth for ever. O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.” As the people heard such thanks proclaimed by order of the sheriffs in every English county, they might well indeed suspend all anger or impatience at the recent extraordinary change, in wondering expectancy of a coming reign of sanctities and blessings!

On the 22nd of June, twenty days after the victory, ambassadors from Holland arrived in London to negotiate for peace. Cromwell, still the holder of supreme

* Such, for example, as the proposed sale of Hampton Court, during Vane’s remarkable exertions towards the preparation of this great fleet. It remains undeniable, and to the immortal honour of that eminent politician, that the greatest glories of our unrivalled English navy date from the naval administration over which Vane presided.

† The admirers and partizans of Cromwell were very hushy on the appearance of this declaration in pointing to it as a striking proof of the humility and single-mindedness of the lord-general, that the people were invited, and not commanded, to the duty of thanksgiving. Whitelocke himself has the following remark concerning it. “It took the more,” he says, “with many people, because it was not a command, and imposing upon men, but only an invitation of them to keep a day of public thanksgiving.”

power, received them coldly. On the 24th, the body of admiral Dean arrived in the Thames, and Cromwell issued orders for its conveyance into London, with every possible demonstration of gratitude, affection, and honour. A long line of mourning barges filled the river from Greenwich to Westminster Bridge; and, as the body passed, all the ships upon the Thames, answered by minute guns from the Tower, offered it respect and reverence. In the evening of the same day, it received state-burial, by torchlight, in the abbey of Westminster; and Cromwell, "with all the officers of the army and navy then in town," attended as chief mourners. Thus early in his reign of power did this remarkable man demonstrate a rare administrative capacity. His unexampled honours to the memory of a commander so beloved, who had sprung from among the common sailors and was venerated in an especial manner by all classes of the people, won for himself no little sympathy and gratitude;—his repulsive treatment of the Dutch ambassadors propitiated the general pride.

Some circumstances connected with this Dutch embassy should not be omitted. As soon as Blake's great victory off the Isle of Portland became known in Holland, a general importunity had risen for peace, not less in the merchant classes than among the common people. Ambassadors, for the management of a treaty, were accordingly named. With the dissolution of the long parliament, however, and the tidings of hope it carried to all the enemies of England, hope revived in Holland also*, and the embassy was temporarily suspended. Again these anticipations fell, when it was seen that Blake and the seamen had not deserted the new government, but accepted service under Monk; and again the Dutch implored their states for peace. It was accordingly resolved, that the ambassadors formerly

* Whitelocke adduces various letters to prove that "the Dutch much rejoiced at the dissolving of the parliament, hoping for some disabling of the English fleet thereby; but, being disappointed thereof, the common people were earnest for a peace with England."

named should proceed to discharge their mission. But, before they arrived in London, Van Tromp had provoked Monk to engage, with the disastrous result I have described; and, instead of presenting themselves on their arrival as men who might reasonably, from the chief of a new government, demand a fair and honourable peace, they appeared in the pitiful posture of suppliants who deprecated fiercer rage than they had experienced yet, from a more triumphantly victorious conqueror. It is, under these circumstances, right to keep in mind, that the presence of these pacific negotiators, from the proud government of the United Provinces, was a confession of the invincible capacity and energy of the statesmen of the long parliament; and not, as it has been esteemed, a tribute to the instant supremacy of Cromwell. When the lord general seized the power of the state, he may be said to have inherited a well appointed navy of upwards of 100 sail, and the fruits of one of the noblest maritime victories on record: yet, when Van Tromp first appeared in the channel, the committee of the admiralty had only twenty sail in the Downs. All else had followed, with sundry victories in its course, from the exertions of Blake and Vane.

Cromwell, surrounded by his military council, received the Dutch delegates with a haughty pride. Their first proposition was, that, pending the present negotiation, all hostilities should cease. This, he peremptorily refused. Their next had relation to what they termed the exorbitant demands formerly made by the long parliament, when St. John was ambassador at the Hague*, and some abatement of which, they contended, must form the basis of any new treaty. This

* This was before the victory of Worcester in 1651. The embassy was admirably discharged by St. John, who, as soon as he saw a disposition in the States to trifle with England, threw up his mission in these memorable words:—"I perceive," he said, "the issue of our war with the Dutch is determined; I have advised that we should first fight, and then expect your envoys on our shores. I thought better of you, and have misjudged; but trust me you will soon repent your rejection of the offers which we have made you." The statesmen kept their words. The equipment of a noble fleet, and the passing of the navigation act, were the immediate results of St. John's abrupt return.

proposition met with no better fate than the first. Cromwell refused to stir one jot from the ground taken up by his predecessors. Three weeks passed fruitlessly thus: the Dutchmen, in despair, demanded their passports, and would have gone at once had not Cromwell condescended, for special purposes he had privately in view, to cajole and humour them. Now, he would chide them reproachfully for their impatience, and now, with tears in his eyes, for their carelessness of the miseries of war! The convention meanwhile assembled, and it then favoured his purposes to represent himself as their servant merely, and the humble representative of a supreamer power in the state. Two months at least passed in continual agitation of new proposals, and the transient glitter of new hopes, when he announced to them on the behalf of "the parliament of the commonwealth," at an audience they had claimed from its new council of state, that England would waive her claim of pecuniary compensation from Holland, provided Van Tromp were for a while removed from the command of their fleet, in acknowledgment of his having been the aggressor; and, provided also the states would consent to the incorporation of the two countries into one great maritime power, to be equally under the same government, consisting of individuals chosen out of both.* The last condition proved, as it was probably intended, a stumbling block to the Dutch negotiation. It was a subject not embraced in their instructions. Ultimately, three of their number left London for the Hague, to procure larger powers. Beverningk, the representative of the states of Holland, alone remained.

But it was now the close of July and, exactly two days before the departure of the Dutchmen, another battle had been fought at sea, and another victory won

* A vast number of papers will be found in Thurloe, having reference to these negotiations. See, for example, in the first volume only, pp. 268. 284. 302. 318, 315. 316. 340. 362. 370. 372. 381, 382. 394. 401. And see, for the best popular statement of these results, Dr. Langard's History, vol. ii. p. 219—223.

for England. During the whole of the negotiations I have described, Van Tromp and De Witt had exerted themselves with unrelaxing zeal to retrieve their last disgrace ; knowing well how little chance there is of honourable peace after ill-fought war. Tromp complained of the insubordination of his officers, and De Witt of the inadequacy of his ships. Tromp even threatened to withdraw from the command, while De Witt is recorded to have addressed, after this fashion, both the states general and the states of Holland. " I am here before my sovereigns : of what use is it to dissemble ? the English are our masters at sea ; and things must so remain, till we have ships built on a different scale."* To both the admirals a most respectful attention was at once paid. Full power was given to Van Tromp to place and displace his officers at pleasure† ; deputies were specially sent from the civil government to every crew in the service, exhorting and intreating them to make a last effort for their country, and promising them extraordinary advantages and rewards, while in the Dutch dockyards De Witt's orders reigned supreme. Unexpected success, in one sense, followed. Towards the end of July, Tromp was enabled to sail from the harbours of Zealand with about eighty ships, and De Witt had twenty-five more in readiness in the Texel, with which he afterwards joined his chief. But the Dutchmen had lost the habit of victory.

Monk and Blake had for eight weeks blockaded the entrance of the Texel, when, on the evening of the 29th of July, near the coast of Holland, they cleared for a decisive action with Van Tromp and De Witt. On that evening Monk issued a memorable and most characteristic order through his ships, which were in number about equal to the Dutch force. He had found by experience, he said, that the taking the ships of the enemy consumed much precious time, while the sending the ships so taken into a place of security, ne-

* Thurloe, vol. i. p. 314. ; Le Clerc, vol. ii. p. 333, 334.

† Thurloe, vol. i. p. 325.

cessitated the detaching other vessels from the fleet to conduct them, and so weakened his force. He therefore gave positive instructions to the captains that *no English ship should surrender to the enemy, and that they should accept no surrender of the vessels against which they fought*. Their business was not to take ships, but to sink and destroy to the extent of their power.* Another circumstance not less sagacious or cold-blooded was observed in his conduct this famous evening. He sent out a sudden order to transpose the captains of the merchant-men, which had been placed by him in the battle. In the former engagement, he had found that they committed themselves somewhat too cautiously, out of tenderness they had to the freight which belonged to their owners! †

The first evening's encounter was characterised by nothing decisive. The squally winds of the succeeding day prevented battle. The sun of the third, which was Sunday, the 31st of July, set in terrible streaks of blood. Its most illustrious victim was Van Tromp. "Whilst he very signally," says Clarendon "performed the office of a brave and bold commander, he was shot with a musket bullet into the heart, of which he fell dead without speaking a word. This blow broke the courage of the rest." After the fall of Van Tromp, the victory was indeed no longer doubtful. The Dutch at once wavered, in a short time fled, and pursuit lasted beyond midnight. ‡ On the English side, though few

* Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 62

† Heath, p. 348.

‡ During the continuance of this pursuit on the evening of the battle, Monk sent off a despatch to the lord president of the council of state, dated from "on board the Resolution, off Camperdown," which, on its arrival in London, was received and read with much excitement in the house of commons. Its description of the closing days was highly characteristic of Monk, and will give the reader a vivid picture of the scene. Having mentioned the result of the first day's encounter, he thus continues:—"Yesterday little was done as to an engagement, both fleets finding it work enough to get off from the lee-shore, having the wind at W. N. W. blow- which was the worst for us, being it being fair weather and little engagement; the enemy bearing in upon us, having the wind of us. To this time the Lord seemed to encourage the enemy, by laying the scales, as it were, in a balance, so that neither could tell which had the better; but good was the Lord unto us,

ships were lost, the loss of men was found to be considerable. Six captains and 500 sailors were killed, and six captains and 800 sailors wounded. A more terrible issue had befallen the Dutch. Nearly thirty of their ships were burned or sunk, and among them that of vice-admiral Evertsens, who was himself made prisoner. Their loss of life was proportionately fearful, and 1200 of their seamen were carried into England as a trophy of the battle, having been taken as they escaped from the wrecks in their boats, or picked up as they were swimming in the sea.* But heavier news than that of all these losses to the people of Holland was the death of their famous Van Tromp.†

who knew the best time for manifestation of his own glory, in appearing for his own people, though unworthy of so great a mercy; for, about seven in the morning, the great ships from the Texel, being twenty-five in number, [De Witt's fleet] having made a conjunction with them the day before, there began a very hot dispute with them, which so continued till one in the afternoon, the enemy having the wind of us all the while, whereby he had the opportunity of taking all advantages; yet truly may we say, great was the Lord, and marvelous, worthy to be praised for his glorious appearance on our behalf; for by this time the Lord had so daunted their spirits, that they began to bear away from us, making all the sail they could with the remainder of their fleet, being not above sixty of their whole number; for, so far as I can gather, there cannot be less than thirty or forty sunk, taken, and destroyed. We are now in pursuit with some of our best sailing frigates, being almost up with some of their sternmost; and our expectations still are great, that the Lord will perfect the work thus far begun and carried on; which I hope will be to the glory of his grace in us, as well as without us. The enemy had nine flag ships when he first engaged, and now but one left, and Tromp's tied to the topmast, as far as I can discern. But I saw two of our own fired by the enemy's fire ships whereof one was the Oak, whose men were most of them saved; the other a fire ship. In the fight the Resolution, with the Worcester frigate, led the English fleet in a desperate and gallant charge, through the whole Dutch fleet. Van Tromp's topmast was shot down, which he would have set up again, but could not, and so was fain to put his flag upon his rear masts. Those of the Dutch, that are got into the Texel, are much shattered; Tromp's vice-admiral sunk by his side." It is clear that Monk had not at this period become aware of the first source, as well as the greatest incident, of his victory—the death of Tromp. A brief letter from him arrived to announce it the next day.

* Several Proceedings. Heath, p. 348.

† Lord Clarendon tells us, that "on the Hollanders' part, between twenty and thirty of their ships of war were fired or sunk, and above 1000 prisoners taken. The victory cost the English dear too; for 400 common men and eight captains were slain outright, and above 700 common men and five captains wounded. But they lost only one ship, which was burned; and two or three more, though carried home, were disabled for further service. The most sensible part of the loss to the Dutch was the death of their admiral, Van Tromp, who, in respect of his maritime experience, and the frequent actions he had been engaged in, might very well be reckoned amongst the most eminent commanders at sea of that age, and to whose memory his country is farther indebted than they have yet acknowledged." Yet the States had given him a splendid triumphal funeral,

The parliament vied with Cromwell and the council of state in showering honours and rewards on the victorious English admirals. A grand dinner was given in the city of London, to celebrate their return, at which Cromwell was requested to invest them with sundry gold chains and medals, which had been voted in commemoration of their exploits. Nor did this parliament vent its gratitude in mere partial and unsubstantial honours: they gave orders, we ascertain from the papers of the time, "*for taking care of necessaries for the relief of the sick and maimed seamen and soldiers. They also resolved that a convenient house should be provided in or near Dover, Deal, or Sandwich, for their accommodation; that one moiety of all the hospitals for sick throughout England be reserved for the service of the navy; and that provision be made for the wives and children of the captains and sailors slain in this engagement, who were also admitted to make probate of their husbands' and fathers' wills, without payment of any fees.*"

But the case of Lilburne claims brief mention, before the striking course of parliamentary policy is resumed.*

and struck a medal to his memory. Ludlow thus describes, in his memoirs, the engagement of the last day "Though many of our men were sick of the scurvy, and the Dutch had fire ships, of which we had none, the wind also entirely favouring them, yet did the fight continue with equal balance till two or three in the afternoon, about which time their admiral, Van Tromp, was killed with a musket ball, as he walked upon the deck with his sword drawn. This so discouraged the enemy, that they made all the haste they could away towards the Texel, and were pursued with that diligence by ours, that the ship of Cornelius Evertzen was sunk, with about thirty more, as we were informed by the prisoners taken or saved from perishing. The victory was great, but cost us dear; for we lost eight of our brave captains, whose names were, Graves, Peacock, Taylor, Crisp, Newman, Cox, Owen, and Chapman, with about 400 men. We had also about 700 wounded, and amongst them five commanders, yet we lost but one ship, in this fight."

* A passage from the "Exact Relation," may yet be subjoined, descriptive of matters already partly referred to, and which will not require further statement. "By this time (the opening of August) many matters were fitted and prepared by the committees, who made their daily reports. The council of state having the pre-heminence to be first heard, divers things were offered by them, some of which had been considered of by them in the interval of parliament. Many things passed, and were dispatched, of what they reported, and which other committees did likewise report, which spent not a little time. Business came on so fast from committees, which did cause striving which should be first heard, and much time lost thereby. There were many particular things ordered and dis-

Banished from England for life in 1652, he had taken refuge in Holland, allied himself to the royalists there*, and made formal proposals to them for the destruction of the Long Parliament and the then council of state, and for the murder of Cromwell, all of which he undertook to accomplish in six months, on the payment of ten thousand pounds.† His proposals, made in the

patched by the house, as 'The relieving the sufferings of many by fires in many parts of the nation; some their grievances redressed; some their petitions and desires granted; some obstructions in all their purchases removed by the house.' The business of providing monies (all other things ever giving way to that) occasioned expense of much time, and great debate of ways and means to that end. The fights at sea coming to knowledge by letters; the reading of them; the acknowledging God's goodness, and praising his holy name; the taking care to provide for the sick and maimed; the relieving the widows of such whose husbands were slain; the honouring with rewards the chieftains and commanders; with the bestowing several sums of money on the widows and children of such captains as were slain in the fight, in consideration of their loss of such husbands and fathers; all which were things just and honourable, but not done without expence of time. The dispatch of ambassadors to foreign parts, as to Turkey and to Sweden, their letters of credence, and commissions signed and sealed, the receipt of letters from Switzerland and other free states, the reading of them and returning answers, may be reckoned into the expence of time. The council of state chose a second time by the box or glass, where every one put in his paper of name, and those that had most votes carried it, spent more time than one whole day."

* This is not denied even by himself. According to his own "Defensive Declaration," he entered into familiar intercourse with the duke of Buckingham, sir John Colepeper, sir Ralph Hopton (distinguished followers of Charles the First, and who had been created peers by him in 1644), bishop Bramhal, and other eminent royalists.

† When asked how he proposed to effect all this, he replied, by papers that he would print in Amsterdam, and send over and get dispersed by his agents in England. He affirmed, that he had a numerous party in his native country, and that the majority of the army would easily be brought over to his views. It is fair to add that Lilburne has denied this part of the charges. His character and habits, however, are a formidable support to it; and the informations, perfectly agreeing as to the facts, are sworn to by four persons, Isaac Berkenhead, captain John Titus, captain John Bartlett, and Richard Foot. In the evidence of the latter person some curious circumstances are stated. Describing the interval between the despatch of Lilburne's first letter to Cromwell and his subsequent departure in defiance of permission, Foot illustrated it by the following scene. "On Sunday the 29th of May, Lilburn and Jamot being at a tavern called the Conserge, with one captain Whittington and colonel Layton, both of the king's party here in England, and two merchants, one of the company askt him what he would say if this pass came not, he said that, 'if my pass come not, and that I find that it is Cromwell that hinders it, as it must be, for it lies in his power, I will either kill him my self, or send one to do it.' Then one of the merchants askt him how he could do such a thing with conscience, he answered, 'Tell not me of conscience in this case, for if that I am banished without law, conscience or equity, and deprived of my natural air to breath in, which is every man's birth-right (with such like expressions), I may justly right my self if I can. It I would take a hare or a deer, I ought to give him fair play, because they are beast of game; but if a fox or wolf, I may use what device I can to kill him; so if Cromwell keep himself above the law, that I cannot have my right by the law, I may

autumn of 1652, were rejected, after some deliberation. Yet he remained in Holland, where, on the 3d of May 1653, the news of the dispersion of the statesmen reached him. Seeing the opportunity for disorder, he wrote at once and offered his allegiance to Cromwell, with the prayer that he might be allowed to return to England, to call to account the deceased authority that had banished him. The letter was loaded with abuse of the parliamentary leaders, — especially of Scot, whom it styled secretary of state, — and with quiet hints of conciliation and respect for Cromwell — but unavailing. The lord general avoided double-edged tools, and had profited by his old experience of Lilburne. The letter passed unanswered.

Lilburne then resolved on the daring step of an unsanctioned return to England. He supposed himself safe in the disorders and uncertainties of the time. The duke of Buckingham is said to have accompanied him as far as Calais * ; and it is certain that the council of state had received information, which left them little doubt of the desperate intentions with which he came. He arrived in the middle of June, was arrested the day after his arrival at a lodging in Little Moorfields, and shortly after committed to Newgate. The determination had at once been taken by Cromwell to send him to trial on the act which banished him, and which affixed to his unpermitted return the penalty of death. It was a case, moreover, wherein he thought he might safely trust a jury. The only matter submitted to their decision would be the simple proof of identity, since the felony was clearly established and declared. Thus would he at the same instant not only drive from his path a troublesome demagogue, but in all probability, by his very means of doing it, win

kill him how I can.' Then presently his letters came, and after he had read them, and saw his pass was not come, he said, '*I am resolved to have one fling more at Cromwell.*' Further he said, that '*Cromwell hath been an Atheist these seven years, and that his design is and hath been to make himself king.*'"

* Thurloe, vol. i. p. 306. Several Informations, p. 18.

the popular sympathies and regards. The result was another proof of his miscalculation. Nor of that only. It furnished decided evidence of that general condition of confusion and incertitude, which was the follower of his act of usurpation.

As soon as Lilburne discovered the resolute front opposed to him, he took up his own old positions with all his accustomed obstinacy.* He set to work his friends to petition, and his own wits to baffle by all kinds of technical objection the legal proceedings already instituted. His first endeavour was to obtain a respite of the trial till the meeting of the convention that had been summoned, and in this he succeeded. Cromwell was not unwilling to share with them the responsibility of some portion of what he had resolved to do. Within four or five days of their meeting, petitions were accordingly poured in upon the parliament—petitions from Lilburne himself—petitions from Lilburne's wife—petitions from Lilburne's native county—petitions from London apprentices, who thought Lilburne a great man. It is instructive to know how much may be done, or, rather, how much always seems to be done, by one active person, during the inaction of every body else. Several discussions arose on these petitions, and many divisions† were taken. "Some members of the house," according to the author of the "Exact Relation," "earnestly moving to have had his trial suspended, and the act called in question by which he was banished and made a felon, that the merit of the cause might be looked into; which they professed, again and again, they did not do so much in favour of Mr. Lilburne, as in the right of themselves and their posterities, and all Englishmen, which they judged highly concerned therein; but other gentlemen of note being very opposite, nothing came of the whole but expense of time." The real fact was, that the evidence of Lilburne's intentions, laid before the various members by

* See note, *antè*, p. 94—97.

† Thurloe, vol. i. p. 387.

manded counsel; that point was at once conceded, and, among others, he named Glyn, Maynard, and Hale; of whom, Maynard, who lived to dabble in the blood of the regicides, took up his case with a real and very hearty zeal. Three days of the trial had meanwhile been exhausted. On the fourth, returning to the charge with renewed vivacity, Lilburne tendered a bill of exceptions.* The court refused it unless signed by counsel, and gave him till evening to repair the defect. But the majority of the counsel he had named were out of town, and his friends only narrowly achieved the good fortune of finding Maynard, who was himself on the point of setting out when they arrived. He signed the bill at once, and procured the signature of Norbury, a Welsh judge, who had recently been dismissed by Cromwell. The crafty lawyer sent at the same time, a message to Lilburne, of still greater value than his signature. He would baffle his judges most effectively, he told him, if he insisted on his *oyer* — a specification under the great seal of the statute on which he was tried, of the judgment of banishment given against him, and of the crime, or crimes on which that judgment was founded.

Lilburne received this hint with becoming gratitude, and on the sixth day of the proceedings formally demanded his *oyer*. Maynard's anticipations proved correct. The court knew not how to refuse the request, since it

* These exceptions were, first, that it did not appear on the face of the act, that it was an act of the parliament of the commonwealth of England, or the parliament sitting at Westminster, and might as well be an act of a parliament in Naples, or any other country. Secondly, it did not appear, that there was any judgment given, upon which the sentence was founded. Before a judgment there must be indictment, presentment, or information; the party accused must appear, or it must either confess or plead: all of least of them being enough to annihilate the act. Thirdly, Lilburne spoke of his not being allowed to reply after twenty days, but the vote of the house upon which the act was bottomed specified thirty days. Fourthly, the indictment now preferred against Lilburne, while the act of banishment was pending, was against Lilburne; no proof being rendered that he was the person intended. He demed that he had been a lieutenant-colonel at the time of passing the act. There were several persons in England, whose names and designation were John Lilburne, gentleman; and they might as well hang any one of these as hang him, under this act.

was claimed as of right and necessary to defence; and assuredly they knew still less how to grant it, since no record of the charge or judgment was known to exist. They granted a specification of the act, and adjournment to the next sessions.

The proceedings were resumed in the middle of August, by two days' argument on Lilburne's exceptions and his right to the *oyer*. He consented to plead at last, under threat from the court that they would enter up judgment against him as contumacious. A jury was empanelled to try him on the 18th of August, and the trial lasted three days. The court was crowded within and without by the city apprentices, of whom Lilburne was the hero; some hundreds of them were said to have provided themselves with arms for his rescue if he should chance to be condemned; and threatening papers were dropped about in various directions (printed no doubt at the demagogue's own printing press!) to declare that if Lilburne perished, twenty thousand Englishmen would perish with him! Cromwell unwisely elevated these circumstances into an importance they could never themselves have claimed—for the great mass of the people were in truth looking indifferently on—by taking measures to strengthen and encourage the court. Two companies of soldiers were posted in the immediate vicinity; three regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, were quartered in the city; and a considerable force without the gates received orders to march towards London.

The details of the trial itself, which lasted three days, have not been preserved. It is only known that the counsel for the prosecution restricted themselves to bare evidence of the prisoner's identity with the Lilburne named in the act of banishment—that the court charged the jury, in the same strain, that they had nothing to do but with the act of parliament in question—and that Lilburne himself made a long and passionate speech in which, among a vast variety of topics of argument and abuse, the chief were these. He denied the legal

authority of the late parliament to banish him, because it had in law expired with the death of the king, and because in no circumstances can a house of commons assume the functions of a court of justice—he urged upon the jury with elaborate vehemence, that they were judges of the law as well as of the fact—he maintained that they could not possibly, if they had any regard to justice or the peace of their own consciences, adjudge a man to death for a thing not done or proved, but merely because other men had ordered certain words to be written down on paper or parchment*—he finally adjured them to remember that an act of parliament which was evidently unjust, was essentially void, and that jurymen, who pronounced according to it, and not according to their oaths, would have one day a heavy reckoning to answer. It was late in the night of the third day of the trial, when the jury returned their verdict, and the shout of the apprentices in celebration of Lilburne's acquittal rang clamorously up Whitehall† to the residence of Cromwell.

I have thus glanced at this close of the wayward

* The original judgment against Lilburne was, no doubt, only defensible on the ground of an elemental danger to society and government—both at that time in a state of revolution and transition—which the ordinary law and usage were incompetent to meet. He was condemned in a heavy fine, with banishment for life, on the ground of a breach of privilege. It is well to recollect, that a previous vote of a precisely similar description, against lord Howard, of Escricke, and captain Wenday Oxford, had been called by Lilburne (in his *Just Reproof*, &c.) “a gallant piece of justice.” Still Vane and Marten strenuously opposed his banishment.

† A few words will suffice to close Lilburne's career. The result of an examination of the judges and jurymen before the council of state; of the evidence of a certified copy of certain opprobrious expressions used by Lilburne in his defence; and, finally, of additional proof of his royalist intrigues—was an order from the parliament, that, notwithstanding his acquittal, he should be confined in the Tower; and that no obedience should be paid to any writ of *habeas corpus* issued from the court of upper bench in his behalf. These measures were loudly complained of by sensible and well-judging people, who had taken no interest in Lilburne; and stoutly resisted also by a minority in the parliament. They were carried by the plea of state necessity. It was afterwards supposed, that Lilburne would be brought to trial for treason, with other conspirators, before a high court of justice, but he was at length sent a prisoner by Cromwell to Elizabeth Castle, in the Isle of Jersey. Here, he deported himself with the greatest contumacy. He was finally, as we are told, being far gone in a consumption, liberated from confinement, and only turned out to die; which event occurred in August, 1657, at the age of thirty-nine. It is characteristic of all his life, that he is recorded to have died in the faith of a *quaker*! For various circumstances connected with these latter incidents of his most unprofitable life, see Thurloe,

career of Lilburne, because in the marked distinction which separates it from his previous trials, a striking characteristic of the time may be noted. The plain and simple point involved in the present instance was the identity of Lilburne with the victim of the act of banishment. But with whom had that act of banishment originated, of which Cromwell now sought so vigorous an enforcement? It was peculiarly the work of the statesmen whose authority, within the last four months, Cromwell had himself destroyed, and whose motives he had branded with the vilest and most insulting imputations. The act of banishment was in fact no other than a special assertion of that authority, no other than a terrible resentment of Lilburne's reckless disregard of its injunctions. But with the substance the shadow perished; doubts arose between the justice and the thief; the question of identity became a question of indifference; and in the same proportion as Cromwell might be held to represent the authority by which he claimed the forfeit life of Lilburne, did the shouts of the apprentices of London represent the voice of the English people. The true England was silent as the true statesmen. Yet Cromwell was troubled when those shouts reached him in Whitehall. It is the unhappy consequence of a great man's playing a mean part, that mean men may become suddenly, though for a brief space, respected and respectable. A lion in the skin of an ass gives propriety and elvation to an ass in his own skin.

Within a few days after the result of Lilburne's trial, measures for the establishment of a high court of justice were pressed forward in parliament by Cromwell's partisans; for every instant, to them, seemed teeming with a new Lilburne. The time groaned, meanwhile, with much heavier dangers. The real indifference, languor,

vol. i. pp. 324. 367, 368, 369. 429, 430. 435. 441, 442 451. 453. See also *State Trials*, vol. v. pp 415-450.; Whitelocke, *passim*; and the *Journals of the Commons*, under dates already mentioned in the text.

and incertitude of the people made themselves known in a more formidable shape. It had been a memorable incident in the history of the statesmen, that, after the death of the king, though there had been wars with the royalists of Scotland and Ireland, and insurrections of that party when England was invaded by the enemy, no intestine commotion ever shook their power or weakened their general authority with the people. The argument of Whitelocke will also be in the reader's recollection.* Protesting with real or feigned sincerity against the dissolution of the parliamentary government, he observed with admirable foresight,—“The question will then be no more whether our government shall be by a monarch or by a free state, but whether Cromwell or Stuart shall be our king. And thus that question, wherein before so great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was universal, will by this means become, in effect, a private controversy only. Before it was national, what kind of government we should have? Now it will become particular, who shall be our governor, whether of the family of the Stuarts, or of the family of the Cromwells? Thus the state of our controversy being totally changed, all those who were for a commonwealth—and they are a very great and considerable party—having their hopes therein frustrated, will desert you; your hands will be weakened, your interest straitened, and your cause in apparent danger to be ruined.” Substantially this time had now arrived, and its arrival made itself known in a series of royalist conspiracies.

Its first herald, as we have seen, was Lilburne's arrival, under the tender escort, as far as Calais, of his grace the duke of Buckingham. Then followed his acquittal. Then arose mysterious talk throughout London of secret correspondence and designs, and several persons of consideration were sent to the tower.† Then, within some days after we meet with accounts of ten or

* See *antè*, p. 36.

† See Thurloe, vol. i. p. 441, 442, 453.

twelve colonels having been apprehended, on the charge of having come over from abroad with a design to raise men in several places for the service of Charles Stuart. And at last a formal report of various conspiracies was presented to the parliament by the council of state, with a view to expedite the proposed establishment of a high court of justice.

Cromwell saw in all this the worst disadvantages of an incomplete act of usurpation, unaccompanied by any of the strength or awe that would follow its final assertion. He began to look forward impatiently over the heads of his "faithful commons. In a letter I have found to his son-in-law Fleetwood, who was now in Ireland with his wife, the significant humility, the discontented sanctity, the obscure anticipation, point directly at the protector's chair. It is dated the 22d of August, 1653, and runs in these words:—"DEERE CHARLES,—Although I doe not soe often (as is desired by me) acquaint you howe itt is with mee, yet I doubt not of your prayers in my behalfe that in all thinges I may walke as becometh the Gospell. *Truly I never more needed all helps from my christian friends than nowe. Fayne would I have my service accepted of the saincts (if the Lord will) but it is not soe. Beinge of different judgements, and of each sort, most seekinge to propagate their owne, that spirit of kindnesse that is to them all, is hardly accepted of any.* I hope I can say it, my life has beene a willinge sacrifice and I hope is, for them all. Yett it much falls out as when the two Hebrews were rebuked, you know upon whom they turned their displeasure; but the Lord is wise, *and will I trust make manifest that I am no enemie.* Oh how easy is mercye to be abused! Perswade friends with you to be very sober. *If the day of the Lord be so neere (as some say) how should our moderation appeare! If every one (instead of contending) would justifie his forme by love and meeknesse, wisdom would be justified by her children.* But alas I am in my tentation ready to say, Oh would I had

winges like a dove, then would I, &c. but this I feare is my hast. I blesse the Lord I have somewhat keeps me alive, some sparkes of the light of his countenance, and some synceritye above mans judgment. Excuse me thus unbowellinge my selfe to you; pray for mee and desire my freindes to doe soe also. My love to thy deere wife whom indeed I entyerly love, both naturally, and upon the best account; and my blessinge (if it be worth any thinge) upon thy little babe. Sr. George Ascough havinge occasions with you desired my letters to you on his behalfe; if hee come or send, I pray you shew him what favour you can. Indeed his services have been considerable for the state, and I doubt hee hath not been answered with suitable respect. Therefore again I desier you, and the commissioners, to take him into a very particular care, and helpe him soe farr as iustice and reason will any wayes afforde. Remember my harty affections to all the officers. The Lord blesse you all, soe prayeth your truly lovinge father, O. CROMWELL. . . . All heere love you, and are in health, your children and all."

Another circumstance of the same date indicates the movement in Cromwell's mind. Whitelocke was suddenly sent off from London in the character of ambassador extraordinary to the Swedish queen Christina. No formidable opposition was thus removed, but many troublesome and annoying scruples. In vain poor Whitelocke struggled and objected, in vain he sought the aid and counsel of wife, of friends, of tenants. "There's no use in resisting the GREAT MAN," said one of the latter, "an ancient, sober, discreet, and faithful servant to Whitelocke and his father above forty years." Whitelocke rejoined that he was not "bound to obey" Cromwell. "I am deceived," said the shrewd old servant, "if he will not be obeyed in what he hath a mind to." "I am not under his command" retorted Whitelocke; "what can he doe to me?" "What can he doe!" exclaimed the experienced William Cooke. "What can he not doe! Don't we all see he does what

he list. We poor countrymen are forced to obey him to our cost ; and if he have a mind to punish us or you, it's an old proverb that it's an easie thing to find a staff to beat a dogge ; and I would not have you to anger him, lest you bring daunger and trouble too upon you and your family and state ; that's the truth on't."*

The "parliament of saints" had meanwhile been working to Cromwell's wish. Their measures of general polity and reform now claim from us a fair recital, and will be found, indeed, well worthy of it.

Be it first observed that they began their duties by establishing in all matters appertaining to the state a system of the most rigid economy. They revised the regulation of the excise ; they simplified and improved the constitution of the treasury, by reducing into one the several receipts of the revenue ; they abolished unnecessary offices, and reduced exorbitant salaries ; they subjected to a most rigorous scrutiny the various public accounts, and gave new facilities to the sale of the lands now considered as national property. In all these things, as in others I will shortly name, the spirit of the Long Parliament had survived the dispersion of its members ; in the fanaticism of language and occasional extravagance of argument by which the truth and advantages of such a course of policy were obscured in the convention, we must at once in fairness recognise the original vice of its origin. It should never have been expected that any thing could supply that grave defect in the minds of the more sensible English people.

Thus deficient in the only solid support they could hope to rest on, they had at once commenced their quarrel with the formidable class interests, and with the army first. It had been with visible reluctance that they voted the monthly tax of 120,000*l.* for the support of the military and naval establishments. They were, indeed, careful not to complain of the amount ;

* For an ample account of these conferences, and of Whitelocke's interviews with Christina herself, embodying many striking illustrations of Cromwell's character, see my last volume, Appendix E., CROMWELL AND CHRISTINA.

their objections were pointed against the nature of the tax, and the inequality of the assessments; but this pretext could not hide their real object from the jealousy of their adversaries; and their leaders were openly charged with seeking to reduce the number of the army, that they might lessen the influence of the lord general.*

Their war with the lawyers was more daringly and openly conducted. Among the first acts they passed were those for taking away fines on bills, declarations, and original writs, and for the redress of delays and mischiefs arising out of writs of error. They passed at the same time an act respecting marriages which, with several others, was sanctioned by their successors in 1656, and which declared that they should in all cases be preceded by publication of banns in church, or in the market-place on market-day; and a certificate being granted of such publication, together with the exception made, if any, that the ceremony should then take place before some justice of the peace within the county. This measure, which was strongly opposed by the clergy as well as the lawyers †, they accompanied with acts for the registration of marriages, and also of births and burials. They prepared and introduced other bills with less success in passing them. Among them were, for example, an attempt to constitute by enactment *a public committee for advance of trade; a new system of workhouses, and provision for the poor;* and many admirable remedies for making the law more expeditious and less chargeable.‡

* Exact Relation, p. 10. Thurloe, i. p. 755. Dr. Lingard, vol. ii. p. 193.

† A considerable time, the authors of the Parliamentary History tell us, was taken up in agitation of it. On the 25th of August, it passed the house on the question, and was ordered to be printed and published. "This extraordinary act entirely took marriages out of the hands of the clergy, and put it into those of the justice of the peace. . . . A very remarkable clause (add the compilers of the Parl. History) was proposed to be added upon the third reading, but passed in the negative. It was this:—'That if any person then married, or to be married according to this act, should make proof, by one or more credible witness upon oath, that either the husband or wife had committed the detestable sin of adultery during such marriage, then the said parties might be divorced by the sentence of three justices of the peace.'"

‡ The author of the Exact Relation tells us that "about three days

Their next offence to the lawyers was not less a boon and blessing to the people, in answer to whose repeated prayers and entreaties*, it was granted by

were spent in passing the excise rates, particularly, by vote. The old and new drapery, hats, caps, and tobacco pipes, were by vote exempted from the duty of excise. The bill following, in order of the rates, was very large, of about eighty sheets of paper; spent one whole day in the hearing of it read; and there appeared so many snares and difficulties in it as to trade, as was judged no way fit to be put on a people that expected freedom at the price of their blood and treasure, by them spent in the late war; whereupon it was by a general consent waived and laid aside. There were divers bills prepared by several committees, some of which were read in the house, and others offered to have them read; but other business hindered, as, 'A bill for constituting a committee for advance of trade,' 'A bill for workhouses, and providing for the poor,' 'Divers bills for regulation of the law, and making it less chargeable to the poor, and more expeditious.'"

* I subjoin a striking extract from a petition against the system of imprisonment for debt, printed in the journals of the time. It is entitled the "humble petition of all the prisoners for debt within the several (both national and private) tyrannical dens of cruelty, called prisons, gaols, counters, holes, and dungeons in this land." It opens with a laudation of the members of the convention, as "the Lord's faithful ones," who had been called to restore England's fundamental laws, rights, and liberties. It proceeds:—"In assurance of your speedy accomplishment of this so great good work, to God's glory, your country's happiness, and your own eternal fame to posterity, we are encouraged to show, though not unknown unto you, that the law of God is a law of mercy, peace, and preservation to the people, and not of strife, rigour, and destruction, as it is at this present time, in and by the chargeable, dilatory, and deceitful practice thereof; witness the numerous actions charged on men; vexatious and chargeable arrests, and dragging of men and women like dogs into holes and dungeons; false and endless imprisonment; the frequent commitments to prison, by the judges and justices, upon trivial matters; unjust decrees; false reports of masters in chancery; illegal outlawries; delay of justice; and, by the extraordinary charges in law and protraction of time, *dishearten honest men from suing for their just debts and rights*; together also with the most cruel usage and unreasonable exactions of bailiffs, serjeants, and gaolers, to the utter ruin and destruction of thousands of families in the land, so as now, by the diabolically invented practices of the judges and lawyers, the law is become sharper than a two-edged sword, dividing the life from the body; working an endless separation between a man and his wife, children and friends; deprivation of liberty and calling, and a total ruin of estate, to the great prejudice of this commonwealth in general; but to the satisfaction of cruel revengeful persons, and enrichment of lawyers and their dependents in particular. . . . That restraint of men and women's persons in gaol *pays no debt, but defrauds the creditor, feeds the lawyers and gaolers, and murders the debtors*; witness the many thousands that have thus perished miserably, as the gaoler's books, coroner's records, and committory rolls do testify. . . . That imprisonment for debt is contrary to the law of God, to reason, justice, and charity, and to the law of this land, as appeareth by several statutes. The premises piously considered, your poor still enslaved brethren therefore humbly pray, That you may speedily break off this cruel sinful yoke, by the powerful rule of righteousness, justice, and mercy; that there may be no more arresting nor imprisonment for debt."—The close of the petition suggested a provision in the stead of imprisonment not less just than humane—that "all able debtors might be, in some short time, enforced to satisfy their creditors out of the two-third parts of their estates, either in lands or goods; the other third part to be resolved to themselves for their support and education of their children."

these reformers. A bill was introduced "for relief of creditors and poor prisoners for debt," the immediate operation of which, besides its effects throughout the English provinces, was to release upwards of 300 distressed men who were confined in different prisons in and near London alone. A brief sketch of its provisions will illustrate the judicious and equitable temper in which these "fanatics" approached a subject, which involved so many nice and difficult questions of property and humanity.

Seventeen commissioners were appointed to act as judges in the case of prisoners "in the Upper Bench prison, the Fleet, the Gatehouse in Westminster, the Counter in Surry, or prison in Whitechapel," with power to examine, and determine in a summary way, concerning the causes of such persons' imprisonment, their escapes and their estates, and to act as commissioners of bankrupts. They were to be allowed twopence in the pound out of the money arising by the sale of such prisoners' estates, for the charges of them and their clerks. A certain number of persons were also appointed to act in the same capacity for each county in England and Wales, with an allowance of sixpence in the pound. Prisoners not paying their debts in six months were to be deemed bankrupts; and in case of settlement of any part of a prisoner's estate in trust for himself or any other person, after the debt contracted or judgment obtained, these commissioners were empowered to sell the estate, and to fine any other person aiding or assisting in such fraud. Persons not able to pay such fine, were to be adjudged to the pillory or workhouse. Prisoners able to pay their debts, and refusing so to do, were, if these commissioners thought fit, to be ordered to close imprisonment. The estates of any person for whose debts another should be imprisoned, were to be sold as fully as the estate of the prisoner himself; and where a prisoner made an escape, his estate not being sufficient to discharge his debts, the gaoler and lu

security were to make good the deficiency. In the case of prisoners, however, against whom there had not been any declarations filed, these commissioners were to discharge them, and to give them damages for such vexatious imprisonment. In order to prevent prisoners, unable to pay their debts or fines, from perishing in prison, through the cruelty or obstinacy of any obdurate creditor, the commissioners were empowered to discharge, abate, or give respite of time to any such prisoner, according as the circumstances of the case might require; and to remove to the workhouse, or house of correction, any obstinate prisoner, who should be found to keep in prison through his own wilful default, or to have run into debt by a vicious course of life. They were also authorised to examine into the case of persons who had fraudulently got out of gaol by means of former acts for relief of insolvent debtors, and to re-commit them. They were to inquire into the abuse of charities given to prisoners, and to award punishment for it; to make orders for selling wholesome provisions to the prisoners at a reasonable price; and to cause a table of moderate fees to be hung up in every prison, the transgressor of which in any particular was to forfeit fourfold to the party injured, and to be set on the pillory. And in case of the death of a prisoner before his debts were paid, they were empowered to sell his estate for payment thereof. And though prisoners enlarged by this act were not liable to be arrested for debts due before, yet their estates were to remain subject to their creditors' satisfaction. Lastly, these commissioners were not to be responsible for their conduct but to parliament; and in case of any difficulty, wherein they might apprehend they had not sufficient power for the relief of just creditors or poor prisoners, they were to certify the same to the house, with their opinion what further provision was necessary to be made.

The four great votes which followed these measures, sealed the fate of their unconscious originators. Before I proceed to describe them, it will be interesting to place on record a complete list of the enactments of

general government and policy which were passed by the convention. They embody, in connection with the four votes in question, the last effort made to gather up the fruits of the struggle it has been the purpose of this work to record, in anything like a permanent result or legislative action on the people. Different scenes await us after these have passed. Scenes of mingled shame and glory; the administration of a despotism at once brilliant and mean; the oppressions it practised, the temporary honours it achieved, the few vain benefits it bestowed, the partial but glorious resistance it overcame, the serious and solemn lesson it taught to posterity; — but none of those higher aims which belong to the higher provinces of statesmanship, and by which alone may be connected and consolidated the interests and the happiness of men in distant ages.

The list, compiled from the imperfect journals of the house, and the relation of one of its members, who adopts the signature of “L. D.,” may be given thus: — First. “An act for the committee of the army, and treasurers of war.” Second. “An act for constituting commissioners for ordering and managing the admiralty and the navy.” Third. “An act for settling the court of admiralty.” — Much time, we are told, “spent in fixing on judges.” Fourth. “An act for taking away fines on original writs,” which, L. D. adds, “was, as some knowing gentlemen of worth in the house affirmed, to the saving of the people of this commonwealth 120,000*l.* per annum, only 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.* thereof coming to the state.” Fifth. “An act touching the several receipts of the revenue and treasuries of the commonwealth, and the bringing them into one treasury.” Sixth. “An act for marriages, and the registering of them; as also births and burials.” “Much time,” subjoins our relater, “spent in the debate about marriages, there being many niceties and difficult cases relating to that subject.” Seventh. “An act for the more speedy bringing in of the arrears of

the excise, and settling commissioners to that end." Eighth. "An act concerning *the planters of tobacco in Gloucestershire, and elsewhere.*" Ninth. "An act to continue the receipts of the excise till the 29th of December last." Tenth. "An act, additional and explanatory, for the sale of the remaining fee-farm rents, and finishing the whole buisness." Eleventh. "An act for settling Ireland, *and making it a part of the commonwealth, and satisfying the adventurers and soldiers with lands ;*" which act, we are told, "being very large and comprehensive, took many days' debate before it could be passed as a law." Twelfth. "An act for the relief of creditors and poor prisoners." The fruit of it, L. D. observes, with a justifiable pride, "hath shewn the worth of it, 300 poor starving souls having been freed thereby, in and about London. A law so just and honourable, as England hath few better ; which passed not without serious debate." Thirteenth. "An act for accounts, *and clearing public debts,* and for the discovery of fraud, and concealment of any thing due to the commonwealth." Fourteenth. "An act for empowering the committee of the army to state and determine the accounts of all soldiers and others employed by them, for moneys by them received from the 26th of March 1647, untill the 25th of July 1653." Fifteenth. "An act for *redress of delays and mischiefs arising by writs of error,* and writs of false judgment, in several cases." Sixteenth. "An act for repealing of a branch of an act of the late parliament, intituled 'An act for subscribing the engagement,' which was made, L. D. quietly adds, "to the ease and profit of the people, and *to the loss of the lawyers.*" Seventeenth. "An act for the regulating the making of stuffs in the county of Norwich and Norfolk." Eighteenth. "An act *for a high court of justice.*" Upon this, L. D.'s remark is characteristic : — "It cost," he says, "indeed but one day's time, the reading, debate, and passing for a law, by reason of the great haste some gentlemen made, pretending great danger to

themselves and the commonwealth, so as no reasons could prevail to have it recommitted, as some desired ; or that the acts for treasons might be read which the commissioners were to proceed upon, as others moved to have them ; nor yet that the bill might be ingrossed, being to be a law that concerned life, for then it could not have passed till the next day, when *some that were perceived that day absent (being praying at the Blackfriars) might be present*, and hinder, as it is likely to be feared, the passing of it ;—which had they done, they had saved much the credit of the council ; for to wise men it seemed a very weak piece. And experience hath (thanks be to God) shewn there was not that sudden danger as some gentlemen suggested, who did not let to say, (in answer to those that would have had it ingrossed against the next morning,) ‘that they knew not but by that time they might have their throats cut.’” In explanation of this, the case of Lilburne need only be recalled. Nineteenth. “An act for deofforistation and improvement of the forests, and of the honours, manors, lands, and tenements, within the limits and perambulations of the same, heretofore belonging to the king, queen, and prince.” This was, we are told, “a very large act, and comprehensive in the particulars, wherein the old farmers of the custom house, that lent the old king money, to make war with the Scots, were admitted to have their old debts made public faith, to double on, to the sum of two hundred seventy-six thousand pounds, to the end to be sure to have money against the spring. It was complied with ; and some very eminent and wise gentlemen made others believe there was no question but the money would be provided ready against the times, other members of less note [no doubt our present informant] told the house what they thought, even as it is come to pass.” Twentieth. “An act confirming the purchasers of sir John Stowel’s lands, what they had purchased of the state.” Twenty-first. “An act for an assessment at the rate of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a month, for six months, for the maintenance of the armies

and navy of this commonwealth."* Twenty-second. "An act for continuing the privileges and jurisdiction of the county of Lancaster." Twenty-third. "An act *touching idiots and lunatics*." Twenty-fourth. "An act forenabling commissioners of parliament for compounding with delinquents to dispose of two parts of the lands and estates of recusants, for the benefit of the commonwealth." This act we again learn from L. D. "cost much time in the debate of it; for that some gentlemen fearing it amounted to the toleration of popery, did strongly oppose it, and caused it to be so modelized, as that it was never like to attain the end aimed at, as some then declared; of which experience now can best declare and speak." Twenty-fifth. "A second act for the constituting com-

* "This," says the author of the *Exact Relation* (the curious pamphlet I have already quoted), "was a very large act, and took up many days in the debate and passing of it, *there being a desire, if possible it might have been, to have abated something of that sum, and that it might be laid equally*. Many votes passed, and very sharp debates, by reason of the great inequality that was evident in the laying of the tax, some countries bearing beyond their proportion, and some much less, which made the burthen more grievous than otherwise it would be. When, after many days spent in the modelizing of the bill, and it came to be passed, some gentlemen gave their reasons why they could not give their yea to pass it for a law, for the unrighteousness that was in it (*and something else*) which had been laid forth in the debate. The great inequality betwixt country and country, city and city, hundred and hundred; and so of particular estates, some paying but two or three shillings in the pound, and others four and five, yea, some ten or twelve shillings for their real estate, beside what they paid for their personal; some of London passionately complained of being overrated, they paying 840*l* a month, the fiftieth part of the whole assessment of the commonwealth, when, as they with great confidence affirmed, they were not the fortieth part of the commonwealth in value, as their case now was. The act ingrossed, and the question being put, the no's (as to the making it a law that very day) *had they been prosecuted to the pole, had hazarded the passing of it*, it having been earnestly pressed that it might be amended at the table, or re-committed to be amended agains . . . *first moved to have the house give up the . . . this one of his reasons why he could sit . . . their dealing so disingenuously with the army*; some other gentleman having spoken to the same account: but as to this, those that gave their no's against the then passing of the bill upon the account before, can say, they never were in arms against the parliament and army, nor were ever in Oxford, or any other garrison that stood in opposition to them. And for their constant cordial affection to them, they may safely say, without boasting, they have been but a very little behind them that have been the highest and best affected in the nation, whatever those gentlemen please to say. To endeavour to have the assessment equally laid and borne, tended much to the army's good rather than hurt, whereby they might continue to enjoy the love and affection of the people unto them." So began, as I have already observed, the quarrels and contentions, which in the four concluding votes received their final consummation. The writer of this passage seems to have taken a decided part himself.

missioners for ordering and managing of the affairs of the admiralty and navy." Twenty-sixth. "An act for the better and more effectual discovery of thieves and highwaymen." We have to add, in concluding the list, that, "there was also a bill brought in and read, and debated for the uniting of Scotland to the commonwealth of England, as a part of it, with equal privileges, which spent two or three days debate in a grand committee of the house, before it was ordered to be ingrossed, being a thing of very great weight and concernment; being ingrossed, it lay ready on the table to be read and passed: but the highlanders putting the country into distemper, it was not put to be passed for a law while the house continued."*

* It is scarcely worth while now-a-days to refute the calumnies which lord Clarendon so notoriously indulged against his opponents; but after this list, it may amuse the reader to hear the noble historian coolly observe that "these men who took upon themselves the supreme authority of the nation, and continued to act in that capacity near six months, to the amazement and even mirth of the people, never entered upon any grave or serious debate, that might tend to any settlement, but generally expressed great sharpness and animosity against the clergy, and against all learning, out of which they thought the clergy had grown, and still would grow. They looked upon the tunction itself to be anti-christian, the persons to be burthensome to the people, and the requiring and paying of tithes to be absolute Judaism, and so thought fit that they should be abolished together. And that there might not, for the time to come, be any race of people who might revive these pretences, they proposed, that all lands belonging to the universities, and colleges in those universities, might be sold, and that the money arising thereby should be disposed of for the public service, and to ease the people from the payment of taxes and contributions." It is unnecessary to observe that no shadow of any such motion, or proposal, relating to the universities, was ever made in the house. The only attempt that carried even the smallest tendency that way, was the scheme for abolishing of tithes. "And this project," as we are assured by a member, "was so far from being intended to the prejudice of the parochial clergy, that the design was only to take away the manner of maintenance by tithes as unequal, burdensome, and being the occasion of litigious lawsuits; and that a bill was offered, on the day of the parliament's resignation, for rendering the revenues of the clergy more certain and equal, by reducing benefices of 200*l*. a year and upwards, and advancing those of a smaller income, and also for making a provision for the widows and children of ministers; but that this equitable proposal was refused a reading, and that therefore the charge against one part of the house, of an intent to destroy the ministry, was a groundless reproach, cast upon those who endeavoured only to take off oppressions and grievances"—The truth of this assertion is the less liable to be controverted, after the statement already proved in this work that the Long Parliament, when they abolished episcopacy, and sold the temporal revenues of the bishops, deans and chapters, &c., made an express reserve of all their impropriations, which were to be applied to the increase of the revenues of the parochial clergy and heads of colleges. The same reserve of impropriations was made in the act passed by this convention, for enabling delinquents to

The first of the four famous votes which alone remain to be mentioned, was a declaration, that the court of chancery should be totally taken away and abolished. In almost every recent petition of the people to the supreme authority of the nation, complaints had been made of the court of chancery; of its dilatory proceedings; of the enormous expense which it entailed on its suitors; and of the suspicious nature of its decisions, so liable to be influenced by the personal partialities and interests of the judge. At last this "little parliament" grappled with the mighty evil! The debate, which was filled with interest and excitement, lasted two days.* The enemies of the court mustered all their force against it, and, on the main question, the resistance of its friends was feeble. It was beyond a doubt, the movers of the vote affirmed, the greatest grievance of the nation. For dilatoriness, chargeableness, and a faculty of bleeding the people in the purse vein, even to their utter perishing and undoing, it might compare with, if not surpass, any court in the world. It was confidently asserted by persons of great weight that there were depending in that court 23,000 causes, some of which had been going on for five, ten,

compound for their estates. In connection with these calumnies it is only fair to add what is said on the subject by the author of the *Exact Relation*. "The house," he observes, "was at least not altogether idle, nor at a stand in their work, so as there was no need to have them dissolved on that score; indeed much more might have been done and proceeded in, if there had not been something that did let. The two great grievances of the law and tythes had such friends in the house, as that, when either of those things came into debate, the house was as divided into two parts; the one very indulgent, still pleading and making defence in their behalf; the other, on the contrary, very ready to support their dissolution. That the incapacity to do the work of the nation, though so divided as aforesaid, may, beside what appeareth already, be further taken knowledge of by these ensuing votes which follow. There were four great votes that passed in the time of the sitting of the house, *which some interests were much displeased at, and they past not without great debate.* First, a vote for abolishing and taking away the court of chancery; 2dly., a vote for a new body or model of the law; 3dly., a vote to take away the power of patrons to make presentations; 4thly, That innocent negative vote of not agreeing with the report of the committee for tythes, touching what they reported, as the best way to eject scandalous, prophane, and ignorant ministers, &c., upon which presently followed the dissolution of the house."

* Whitelocke's Memorials.

twenty, and thirty years! that there had been spent therein thousands of pounds, to the ruin, nay utter undoing, of many families! that no ship (that is, cause) almost sailed in the sea of the law, but, first or last, it put into that port, where it suffered so much loss, that the remedy was worse than the disease; that what was ordered in it one day was contradicted the next, so that in some causes there had been 500 orders or more; and that, at last, when the purses of clients began to be emptied, and their spirits a little cooled, then, by a reference to some gentleman in the country, the cause came to be suddenly ended! In one word, that the court of chancery was no better than "*a mystery of wickedness, and a standing cheat.*"* The friends of the court, in apparent inability to weaken the popular strength of these arguments, reserved themselves for the more difficult question of detail; and, after a brief and ineffectual resistance, suffered the court of chancery to be "voted down."†

Then arose that question of detail, — how to give to the vote the shape and efficacy of law — how, in other words, to dispose of the causes actually pending in the court, and to substitute a less objectionable tribunal in its place. It was referred to the committee on law affairs, but the first bill they prepared was rejected. Its provisions were deemed inadequate to the proper arrangement of what should be done, after the court was abolished, respecting causes actually before it. A second bill underwent the same fate. A third was judged by the authors of the vote to have had too much of the lawyers themselves in its concoction, and the "remedies it prescribed were imagined worse than the disease." It was, without hesitation, rejected. Term now approached; and the members who had taken foremost

* The debate is so described in the *Exact Relation*, p. 12.

† "How did good people rejoice," says a writer of the time, "when they heard of that vote, and how sad and sorrowful were the lawyers and clerks, for the fear of the loss of their great Diana, may be remembered, with their great joy in making bonfires and drinking sack, when they were delivered from their fears by the dissolution of the late parliament!"

part against the lawyers and "their great Diana," resolutely put forth a bill to suspend all chancery proceedings for one month, till an effectual provision could be made to meet every difficulty. To this, however, the lawyers and their partisans offered the most determined resistance they had yet ventured to make. Cromwell openly assisted them* ; and, taking advantage of the absence of some of their more strenuous adversaries from town, they managed to fling the measure out.† Exasperated to conduct as extreme, the reformers in turn collected all the power they could command in the house, brought up their absent members, prepared themselves for a final rally against what they termed the "nuisance of the nation," and within a few days presented a fourth bill ! In this, the defects of all the previous attempts, and, particularly, of the first bill, were remedied ; provision being made in it, in particular, for a proper conclusion to suits now in hand, as well as for the termination of such causes as were ordinarily brought into chancery, so that they should be decided in a short time, and for the most part at an expense of thirty or forty shillings ! All opposition to this bill was overborne. It was read twice in one day, and committed, and would most certainly have passed, had not subsequent proceedings been cut short by the dissolution of the parliament.

But the court of chancery was only one stall in the Augean stable of the law, and in this little parliament had the very soul of a Hercules sprang forth, against all such impurities of the time. Their second great

* Godwin, vol. iii. p. 572.

† When Cromwell, however, had fairly settled himself in power, he did not scruple, in the year following, to act upon the vote he thus opposed ! In 1655 he issued an ordinance consisting of sixty-seven articles "for the better regulating and limiting the jurisdiction of the high court of chancery." The commissioners of the great seal, Widdington and Whitelocke, with Lenthall, the master of the rolls, informed him by letter on its appearance, that they had sought the lord, but did not find themselves free to act according to the ordinance. But, alas for them ! the slightest goodwill from the people had become more important to the lord protector than the most potent sanction of the lawyers ; and therefore Cromwell, without the smallest delay or scruple, took the seals from the first two, and gave them to Fiennes and Lisle. Lenthall opportunely overcame his scruples, and remained in office. See Scobell, p. 324, for the Ordinance.

vote to be recorded was for a general revision and new modelling of the whole body of the law. That design, which the greatest jurists and philosophers of our country, from Bacon to Bentham, have won fame by merely propounding and shaping forth in theory, has alone been boldly and practically grappled with by this so-called mean and ignorant assembly! What, they asked, made up the law? A voluminous collection of statutes, many of them almost unknown, and many inapplicable in existing circumstances; the dicta of judges, perhaps ignorant, frequently partial and interested; the reports of cases, but so contradictory, that they were regularly marshalled in hosts against each other; and the usages of particular districts, only to be ascertained through the treacherous memories of the most aged of the inhabitants. Englishmen had a right to know the laws by which they were to be governed; it was easy to collect from the present system all that was really useful; to improve it by necessary additions; and to comprise the whole within the shape and compass of a single reasonably sized volume. A debate was accordingly held, which lasted, in the midst of very great excitement, and a furious opposition, for two days. The result was a vote to express the necessity of the measure, and to refer its details to the committee already appointed, of whom, as I have said, Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards lord high chancellor of England, was a chief member. The committee began with crimes—treason in the first place, and secondly murder. The plan was, that this “new body of law,” when formed by the committee, was to undergo the patient revision of the house, and, as they should see cause, to be in each of its parts adopted or rejected.

Meanwhile the opposition was tremendous, and every inch of ground without and within the house was fought indeed desperately, and with all the basest expedients of faction. The first point laid hold of after the vote, was an error of the clerk of the house in

wording it. "The clerk," says the author of the *Exact Relation*, "in drawing up the question, put the word *body* instead of *model*, which some members, for the passing of the vote before and after, desired to have altered; but others, lovers of the law as now it is, *opposed the alteration of the word*, being very angry at the vote; and so it went as it was, with some seeming disadvantage, by means of the word *body*, which some of those aforesaid, being angry, would need fancy, and accordingly reported, as if it were intended to *destroy the law, and take away the laws we had been fighting for all this while, as our birth right and inheritance*. And such a noise was made about it, that made many believe that the house was modelised of *monsters, rather than men of reason and judgment*." The writer adds that, notwithstanding, "there were very sober and moderate gentlemen in the account of all men, that concurred heartily in this vote, and upon whom little blemish will stick." And no doubt, being such, these hard words did not much affect them, since all reformers must wear that epithet of *monsters*, till they transfer it finally to the abuses they have resolved to overthrow.

Cromwell assisted, with all his energy, the outcry raised against the vote, and, strengthened by his authority, there arose from out of the courts and purlieus of Westminster, such a multitudinous and tumultuous clamour of voices and of pens, that the like had not been heard before, to "protect from ruin the venerable fabric of English jurisprudence." The presumption of these ignorant and fanatical legislators was ridiculed by every device of falsehood; the design was ascribed to them of substituting the law of Moses for the law of the land; and the people were earnestly conjured to unite in defence of their "*birthright and inheritance*," for the preservation of which so many miseries had been endured and so much blood had been shed. This charge of an intention to overthrow all custom and common sense in favour of the law of Moses was

afterwards frequently insisted on by Cromwell. It rested altogether on a single expression used in the debate, that neither the infliction of the punishment of death for theft, nor the sparing the lives of men for murder, under the notion and name of manslaughter, ought to be sanctioned in the new code, because no such things were to be found in the "law of God" or the sanction of "right reason."

But a vindication of the purpose and necessity of this vote, and of the intentions of its originators, has been left on record by one of themselves, and possesses too much interest and value to be here omitted. The main grounds for it, he tells us, as rested upon in the debate, were the "intricacy, uncertainty, and incongruity of the laws as now they are. First," he continues, "*that whereas the laws ought to be easy, plain, and short, so that they who were to be subject to them, and have benefit by them, might be able to know and understand them in some good measure. They are now so voluminous, and thereby intricate and uncertain, dark and concealed, as few are able to come to the knowledge of them. Those of the profession of the law differ, in very many cases, what the law is, and are of several opinions about this thing and the other; and then how should others, tho' highly concern'd, be able to understand them, and their interest therein contained; there being so many law books of great bulk, so many old musty records, reports, and book cases, as that, after the time spent in school-learning, the rest of the time of the flower of a man's years would be little enough to read them over and peruse them. And besides, those records and book cases are very ill guides or lights to go by, for who knoweth the circumstances that did attend them, which often alter the whole case? Who knoweth whether, in those cases, bribery did not make the judgment; or the powerfulness of some great man; or the love or hatred of the judge; or the negligence or corruption of the advocate? And, besides, in those law cases, some precedents are directly contrary to others;*

and an advocate or counsel alledgeth one case or report, and another, another ; and then the judge followeth which he pleaseth. How arbitrary is the law in this case ! And at what uncertainty are the great interests and properties of men ! . . . Besides, how various are the customs which, notwithstanding, pass for law ! Usually unknown but to some old man of the place ; which, tho' it be ever so unrighteous and unreasonable, time out of mind carries it. How bulky and voluminous are the statute books ! and *of so great a price that few are able to buy them ; and so large that few can spare time to read them, to know their right, and how they are concerned in them ; and yet they must be judged, and stand or fall by them.* And many times some musty statute, of a hundred years old and more imprinted, is found and made use of by some crafty lawyer, to the undoing of an honest man that meant no hurt, *nor knew any thing at all of the danger."*

The wisdom and humanity of these arguments are surely not to be disputed. The writer afterwards goes on to describe the measures adopted in realization of them. "Upon something," he says, "held forth to this effect, the vote was first carried for a new body or model of the law ; and a committee chosen to that end, who met often, and had the help of some gentlemen of worth, that had deserved well of their country, being true patriots ; who liked well the thing, as very useful and desirable ; it being not a destroying of the law, or putting it down, as some scandalously reported, but *a reducing the wholesome just, and good laws into a body, from them that are useless and out of date ;* such as concerned the bishops and holy church, so call'd ; and were made in favour of kings, *and the lusts of great men, of which there are very many.* If the law of God be eyed, and right reason look'd into in all, there be some laws that are contrary to both ; as *the putting men to death for theft, the sparing the lives of men for murder, under the notion and name of manslaughter ;* a term and distinction not found in the righteous law of God : and that unreason-

able law, that if a waggon or cart, &c. driven by the owner, or some other, with never so much care, fall and kill any person, the owner, though it were his own son or servant, that could no way help it, shall lose his horse and waggon by the profane and superstitious name of deodand ; and the owners of the goods shall lose them also upon the same account, though they were as innocent as Abel. Other instances might also be given. The way the committee took in order to their work, which must needs be elaborate, was, — by *reducing the several laws to their proper heads to which they did belong, and so modelizing or embodying of them* ; taking knowledge of the nature of them, and what the law of God said in the case, and how agreeable to right reason they were ; likewise *how proportionable the punishment was to the offence or crime* ; and wherein there seem'd any thing either deficient or excessive, — to offer a supply and remedy, in order to rectifying the whole. The committee began with criminals. Treason being the highest, they considered the kinds thereof ; what was meet to be adjudged treason in a free commonwealth, and what was meet to be the punishment of grand and petty treason. Then they proceeded to murder, the kinds of it, and what was to be so adjudged, and the punishment thereof. The like they intended concerning theft, and, after, to have ascertained and secured property. As also the executive part of the law : so as a person should not need to part with one property to secure and keep another, as now it is ; persons being forced to lose the property of their cow, to keep the property of their horse ; or one parcel of land to preserve and keep another. This body of law, when modelized, was to be reported to the house to be considered of, and passed by them as they should see cause. A work in itself great, and of high esteem with many, for the good fruit and benefit that would arise from it : by which means the huge volumes of the law would come to be reduced into the bigness of a pocket-book, as it is proportionably in New England and elsewhere. A thing of so great worth and benefit

as England is not yet worthy of, nor likely in a short time to be so bless'd as to enjoy. And this being the true end and endeavour of those members that laboured in that committee, it is submitted to every godly and rational man in the nation, whether, as is most falsely and wickedly reported and charged upon persons acting in so much love to their country, their endeavours tended to destroy the whole laws, and pulling them up by the roots."

The appeal will be honestly answered at last, even though deferred till now. Nor are there many rational men amongst us who, whilst they offer their hearty sympathy to the honourable motives and exertions of this writer and his associates, will not also avow, in shame and regret, that the design they had thus commenced two hundred years ago, was indeed a thing of so great worth and benefit that England is not yet worthy of it, nor likely in a short time to be so blessed as to enjoy it!

The soldiers and lawyers having thus been thoroughly roused by the two first of these famous votes, it was reserved for the remaining two to provoke the parsons and the patrons of livings. The third great vote, for example, involved the subject of presentations to benefices. It assaulted "Satan himself" in his "strong hold" of advowsons. Nothing could certainly be more adverse to that religious spirit — call it fervent or fanatical, seek it among independents or presbyterians — now in undoubted prevalence with a majority of the English people, than these rights of presentation and advowson, where in the first case the possessor of a certain property claimed the power of naming the priest of the parish where his property lay, and in the second (as the term is used in ordinary acceptation) for a given sum of money disposed of that right to another, against the first vacancy that should occur. It was, the originators of this vote contended, contrary to reason, that any private individual should possess the power of imposing a spiritual guide upon his neighbours; and therefore they argued that presentations should be abolished, and the

choice of the minister be vested in the body of the parishioners, who might thus have the power, in selecting a preacher that was to lead them in the ways of eternal life, to secure one whose modes of thinking coincided with their own, and whose temper, general carriage, and habits of life were agreeable to them. Meanwhile, the question had deeply interested and aroused vast numbers of patrons of livings and influential men of that class, who sought against parliamentary oppression the "protection" of the lord-general; and an earnest stand was accordingly made in their favour. The vote was carried however on the 17th of November, that the right of presentation to benefices should be taken away, and the people in the several parishes be authorised to choose their own instructors. A bill to that effect was at the same time ordered to be brought in.

The last and most fatal of all the votes involved the much-vexed question of tithes, and was somewhat strangely brought, as by a "side wind," before the house. The result of a "large debate" at the commencement of the session had been an understanding or agreement that tithes ought to be abolished, and that in their stead a compensation should be made to the impropiators, and a decent maintenance provided for the clergy. We have seen accordingly, that one of the committees which were named for the discussion and arrangement of many of the most important questions of public policy, was chosen to examine into tithes, with a special instruction to inquire into the alleged sacredness of the property which was thus constituted. Great were the fluctuations and vicissitudes of the parliament during the subsequent months; and it was not till the 2d of December that the committee made its report; nor is it supposed indeed that the report would even then have been presented, but with the hope of arresting, in some sort, the further agitation of the question of advowsons. The report was entitled "respecting the method of rejecting scandalous, and settling godly ministers;" but its chief article was a distinct opinion of the committee appended to it as a

sort of second section, that incumbents, rectors, and impropriators, had a property in tithes. This report provoked a most earnest and singular debate of five days*

*The author of the "Exact Relation" gives a detailed description, which is as correct as it is vivid, of the circumstances of this debate, and of the real bearing of this celebrated vote. "The fourth vote," he says, "whereupon followed the dissolution of the parliament, was that harmless negative of not complying with the report of the committee, touching what they offered as the best way to eject ignorant, prophane, and scandalous ministers, and encouraging them that are good, &c. : of which two things, and so an end of this discourse ; first, of the proceed to it, and in the debate of it, and then that which followed after it, till the house was dissolved. The proceed was shortly this . after the aforesaid vote had passed, and some of the gentlemen of the house were in readiness to offer the bill, the committee for tythes, to counterwork and keep that off, as some thought, did on Monday morning offer this report, and many were for the taking of it on : others were against the meddling with it at that time ; some moving to have the bill taken in concerning presentations, some to fall on things of more present concernment, as the bill for uniting Scotland to England . Reasons were offered on every side, and after one o'clock the house rose, and nothing fastened on. The next morning, those that were for the report to be taken in the day before moved again, and the other not opposing, it was taken in, but not without being put to the vote, whether the house would take it in, which was carried in the affirmative ; and so the debate began, and continued day after day, till after one o'clock each day, the speaker being aged, and not able to sit longer. The debate was managed day by day with very great seriousness, many arguments and scriptures being alleged. The house being evenly poised, and great attendance been given by the members, waiting the time of the vote, and though any member might, by the rules of the house, have spoken every day so long as the debate continued, yet such was the modesty shewed, that hardly any on all the five days spake twice ; very little of heat or passion being shewed all that time ; only one gentleman or two that were for the report, seeing themselves and their party so engaged, flew out a little, complaining of the expense of time, to have given a check to the going on of the debate. But the orders of the house being called for by some of the other side of the speaker, he declared it to be the right of every one to be heard, and that the question could not be put so long as any would speak to it ; withal those gentlemen were told of their restlessness to take on the debate, and how they wanted patience to wait the issue of it ; after three or four days, a member that was against the report offered an expedient, but was not accepted. At last, on Saturday, towards noon, the question drew near, as did also the end of the parliament ; some members that were against the report having not spoken, and essaying to speak, were persuaded to forbear, who only gathered the issue and result of the whole, and left it to the house ; which was, whether upon the whole this which is in the report, was the best expedient for that end ? which some on the other side, that were for the report, perceiving the stress of the question put there, moved that the word 'best' might be put out ; but it was not admitted, having been in the report all the time of the debate ; so about one of the clock the vote passed, and upon dividing the house was carried in the negative. A debate of that nature and length, in so great a council, hardly ever passed with such soberness and little heat or passion. The business was in statu quo, as to any one's being either better or worse ; the report was laid aside, for that the first part of it, whereon the other part depended, was rejected ; to wit, that the best way to eject ignorant, prophane, and scandalous ministers, and to encourage them that are good, was by sending certain commissioners empowered to do it, as at full length hath been put forth in print already. There was, at the passing of this vote, 115 members, whereof 54 were the affirmative, and 56 for the negative, and two gentlemen, tellers for each side, and the speaker, which make up that number."

and when the question was put on the first section as to an entertainment of the mode of settling godly ministers, though the committee, assisted in all respects by Cromwell, had mustered the whole force of the independents in its favour, it was rejected on the 10th of December by a majority of two. The numbers were fifty-six to fifty-four. The second part, respecting the property in tithes, was in reality not put to the vote at all; its fate was held to be included in that of the former; and it was at once, with the rapidity of lightning, circulated through London, that parliament had voted the abolition of tithes, and with them of the ministry, which derived its maintenance from tithes!

The time had arrived for the master-stroke of Cromwell.* Every power in the land that could make itself

* I should observe, that besides the scenes of parliament that had paved the way for it, other causes had worked as strongly. On every Monday during the session, Feakes and Powell, two anabaptist preachers, had delivered weekly lectures to numerous audiences at Blackfriars. They certainly appear to have been eloquent enthusiasts, commissioned, as they fancied, by God himself, and regardless of earthly controul. They introduced into their sermons most of the subjects discussed in parliament, and advocated the principles of their sect with a force and extravagance which had powerfully advanced the object of Cromwell and his council; because, in investing with their fanatical and fantastical phrases the various measures of the convention, they managed to conceal very effectually from the understandings of common men their really temperate wisdom and correct bearing on the true interests of the people. Their favourite topic was the Dutch war. God, they maintained, had given Holland into the hands of the English; it was to be the landing-place of the saints, whence they should proceed to pluck the w— of Babylon from her chair, and to establish the kingdom of Christ on the continent: and they threatened with every kind of temporal and everlasting woe the man who should advise peace on any other terms than the incorporation of the united provinces with the commonwealth of England. When it was suspected, for example, that Cromwell had receded from this demand, their indignation stripped the pope of many of those titles "with which," as Dr. Langard observes, "he had so long been honoured by the protestant churches; and the lord-general was publicly declared to be the beast in the Apocalypse, the old dragon, and the man of sin." Unwilling even to appear to evade the liberty of religious meetings, Cromwell had for some time borne these insults with an air of indifference; at last he summoned the two preachers before himself and the council. But the "heralds of the Lord of Hosts" quailed not before the servants of an earthly commonwealth; they returned rebuke for rebuke, charged Cromwell with an unjustifiable assumption of power, and departed from the conference unpunished and unabashed. By the common and generally indifferent public, as a matter of course, these sermons at Blackfriars were considered as strictly and entirely explanatory of the views and principles of the reformers in the house, and the poor reformers suffered accordingly. Their enemies multiplied daily; ridicule and abuse were poured upon them from every quarter; and "it became evident to all but themselves, that the hour of their fall was rapidly approaching." In illustration of Messrs Feakes's and Powell's style of preaching, it will only be necessary to quote the mention of the sermons on one occasion, by Bever-

felt above the general indifference of the people was now in arms against the only body which stood between him and absolute rule. The compact between Cromwell and these various powers was thoroughly understood. The sacrifices to be made on the one hand, the "protection" to be given on the other, were as thoroughly prepared.

The day after the vote against the report on tithes happened to be Sunday. Cromwell passed it in his own house, in secret consultation with his friends; and the result of this consultation appeared early on the morning of the day following. On Monday, the 12th of December, a considerable number of members in the interest of Cromwell were observed to enter the house of commons at an unusually early hour. Old Francis Rouse, the speaker, arrived some minutes after them, and a house was at once formed. No question of superior interest had been entered for discussion that day, and the number of the extreme party of reformers who happened to be present, was singularly few. When, however, Cromwell's men were observed to enter in such unusual strength, suspicions arose, and messengers were dispatched by the reformers for reinforcements against them.

They had scarcely left the house—prayers were briefly said—when colonel Sydenham rose to address the speaker. He must take leave, he said, to unburthen himself of some things that had long lain upon his heart. He had to speak, not of matters relating to the well-being of the commonwealth, but that were inseparable from its very existence. He proceeded to load the measures of the parliament, and particularly of a majority of its members, with the most monstrous charges and accusations. He said that they aimed at

ningk, the Dutch ambassador, who went out of curiosity to hear them. It is given in Thurloe, vol. i. p. 442. "The scope and intention," he says, "is to preach down governments, and to stir up the people against the united Netherlands. Being then in the assembly of the saints, I heard one prayer, two sermons. *But, good God, what cruel, and abominable, and most horrid trumpets, of fire, murder, and flame!*"

no less than destroying the clergy, the law, and the property of the subject. Their purpose was to take away the law of the land, and the birthrights of Englishmen, for which all had so long been contending with their blood, and to substitute in their room a code, modelled on the law of Moses, and which was adapted only for the nation of the Jews. In the heat of a preposterous fervour, they had even laid the axe to the root of the christian ministry, alleging that it was Babylonish, and that it was antichrist. They were the enemies of all intellectual cultivation and all learning.* He noticed a motion which had been made by some member, that the great officers of the army should be treated with to serve without pay for one year, and another suggestion that had been offered, in the progress of the bill of assessment for six months for the maintenance of the army and navy, that the bill should be laid aside, till a plan had been arranged for a more equal taxation of the subject: symptoms, he added, which, in no equivocal manner, indicated a deep-laid design in some for the total dissolution of the army.† In these circumstances, he said, that he could no longer satisfy himself to sit in that house; and he moved, that the continuance of this parliament, as now constituted, would not be for the good of the commonwealth; and that therefore it was requisite that the house in a body should repair to the lord-general, to deliver back into his hands the powers which they had received from him. His motion was seconded by sir Charles Wolseley.

One of the most eloquent of the reformers (his name has not been preserved by the reporter of his speech) then rose and earnestly protested against the motion.

* How little has the style of phrase in matters appertaining to reform of law or church, changed with Is there an Exeter hall declaimer against pt this argument of Sydehham as a text of faith? Is there a party man of religion, above the rank of curate or rector, who does not think the love of tithes synonymous with the love of learning?

† But Sydenham himself confessed that this was a mere single and unsupported idea of a single member of the house, taken up by no one after it was broached, dying as soon as born; and therefore his argument was ridiculous, save as a mere party weapon, — “a stick to beat a dogge.”

He defended the character of the parliament so unnaturally deserted by its own members; he challenged every statement made by Sydenham on the question of tithes. What had been proposed, he said, was so far from being intended to the prejudice of the parochial clergy, that its express object was to render the revenues of the clergy more certain and equal, by reducing benefices of 200*l.* a year and upwards, by increasing those of smaller income, and also by making a provision for the widows and children of ministers. As the Long Parliament, when they abolished episcopacy, and sold the temporal revenues of the bishops, deans, and chapters, made an express reserve of all impropriations, which were to be applied to increase the revenues of the parochial clergy and the universities, so had a precisely similar reserve been made by the present assembly in their act for enabling delinquents to compound for their estates. He then enumerated the various measures conducive to the public advantage, that were in progress, and extolled in the highest terms the disinterestedness and diligence of the parliament and its committees. He protested, in conclusion, with passionate earnestness, against a measure fraught with such incalculable calamity as the dispersion of that parliament would prove. Several other reformers followed on the same side with equal warmth; and the debate promised to be of considerable duration. Other reformers, who had been sent for, were now also fast arriving, and the issue seemed at the least doubtful. The number of Cromwell's partizans might be about forty; the reformers had by this time mustered between thirty and thirty-five.*

* This is according to the double evidence of the author of the *Exact Relation*, and of the *New Narrative of the Dissolution*. A letter from one of the members to his brother, contained in Thurlow, gives the same number to the Cromwell party, and says, that when the latter had left, only twenty-seven reformers stayed behind. The other eight, no doubt, felt that any further resistance would be idle. I subjoin this letter, from Bussy Mansel to Edward Pritchard, which derives its interest from the fact of its writer having been present. "Since I wrot my last to you, and some days before, wee were about a report from the committee of tieths, about sending commissioners to the several circuits to cast out all that they judged to be unht fo be ministers, and to put in all they judged to be ht upon the last day of the weeke. This power and its appurtenances came to the question, and it was earned in the negative. Here-upon those gentlemen that were

All doubt, however, was suddenly ended by the extraordinary conduct of the speaker, Francis Rous, who had become one of Cromwell's most thorough-going tools. Acting on an evidently preconcerted plan, he suddenly rose and left the chair. The serjeant took up the mace and carried it before him as he quitted the hall; even the clerk rose and went out at the same instant; while as many members as were favourable to the motion followed, and repaired at once to Whitehall, to demand admission to Cromwell. Some few reformers left also, in hopelessness and disgust. Twenty-seven of the more fervent and enthusiastic remained, gazing on each other in wonder at what had passed, insufficient in numbers to make a house, and without a speaker had they been so inclined. Harrison appears to have been one of these, as well as one of the orators in the debate that had preceded. They continued thus, for some time, in helpless consultation as to what was to be done; and had just proposed to fall to prayers, when two officers, colonel Goffe and major White*, suddenly entered, and

for the report came sooner than their usual hower upon Munday to the house, and there spoke of the unlikely ood of going good, and instanced in several things, that they judged evil that was don; and therefore desired that they would goe, and returne that power they had from whence they received it; and thereupon about forty, and the speaker, went to the generall, and did accordingly. Twenty-seven stayed in the house a little time speaking to one another: and going to speak to the Lord in prayer, coll. Goffe and lieut-coll. White came into the house, and desired them that were there to come out. Some answered, that they were there by a call from the generall, and would not come out by their desire, unless they had a command from him. They returned noe answer, but went out, and fetched two files of musquetiers, and did as good as force them out, amongst whom I was an unworthy one."

* A vulgar piece of pleasantry, on the part of this major White, has been suffered to creep into history. He is said to have asked, on his entrance, "what they did there?" to have been answered by Harrison, "that they were seeking the Lord;" and to have rejoined, "then you may go elsewhere, for to my knowledge he has not been here for several years passed." The anecdote rests on the authority of a piece of royalist scurrility, in which the circumstance of the dissolution is described after this fashion:—"In the mean time Rouse, the speaker, with the mace before him (and his followers), came to Whitehall, and there resigned the instrument he gave them, by which they were constituted a parliament, and gave them likewise to understand how they had left their fellows. Their surrender was kindly received by Oliver, and they thanked for the pains they had taken in the service of the commonwealth, however he and they had mis'd of their intentions of the good should thereby have come to the commonwealth, which a strange spirit and perverce principle in some of the members had solely hindred; and as to them yet sitting in the parliament house, he dispatched away lieutenant-colonel White, a confidant of his, to dislodge them, who accordingly, with a guard of red coats, came thither,

requested them to withdraw. Harrison demanded by what warrant, and major White called in a file of musketeers. No further resistance was offered; the house was expeditiously cleared, and the keys left with the guard.

The speaker, meanwhile, preceded by the mace, and followed by Sydenham and his party, walked through the streets to Cromwell's residence at Whitehall. Some few members, who were on their way to the house, joined him, in curiosity, as he passed; some few, in fear. Having arrived at Whitehall, they withdrew into one of the apartments, and placed a few hurried lines on paper, expressive of the resignation of their power into Cromwell's hands. This was as hastily engrossed by the clerk, subscribed by the speaker and his followers, and tendered by them to Cromwell, who at once put on a well-painted air of surprise, asseverated that he was not prepared for such an offer, and protested that he could not load himself with so heavy and serious a burden.*

and entering the house, demanded them, in the name of the general, to depart, for the parliament was dissolved: who, replying to the contrary, and telling him they were upon business, and ought not thus to be disturbed, he asked, 'What business?' They answered, 'We are seeking of God.' 'Pugh!' saith he, 'is that all? that's to no purpose, for God hath not been within these walls these twelve years;' and so fairly compelled them out, muttering with the same wrath and sorrowful look back, as those that had sate thirty times the same term, and could have almost pleaded prescription."

* It seems hardly credible that such hypocrisy as this could have been attempted; but Cromwell had now lost, in matters of this kind, all sense of his tools and creatures would seem to believe being duped, of duping others in turn; and to say or do any thing at all times, only to show his power of doing or saying it. He had the deliberate effrontery, for example, to repeat the present farce or falsehood to the first parliament of the protectorate, whom he assured, in the most solemn manner, "that he was so far from having any hand in the project, that he was an absolute stranger to the design, till the speaker, with the major part of the house, came to him with the instrument of their resignation." It was in the same speech, I may add, that he used the characteristic expression, "I have appealed to God before you already; I know that it is a tender thing to
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 fall, will any rational person believe that a file of musketeers could be marched into the house of parliament, the members turned out, and the door of the house locked, without the knowledge of the lord-general? I subjoin an extract from Ludlow, in corroboration of the views already urged in the text. "The perfidious Cromwell having forgot his most

But his reluctance yielded at last to the remonstrances and entreaties of Lambert and the officers, and the instrument was laid in a chamber of the palace, for the convenience of such members as had not yet subscribed their names.

It lay there three days, and, though only signed, at first, by Sydenham's party, it is said to have exhibited, at the close of the third day, very nearly eighty names — a majority of the whole assembly; nor do I find any distinct authority that questions this. In what way these signatures were obtained, or whether they were in all respects genuine, is a matter scarcely worth discussion. The existence of the convention sprang out of cheat and delusion, and though its career was elevated into respect by the unlooked for gravity of its counsels, and the wise determination of its measures, its abrupt and iniquitous end was nothing more than the natural consummation of its monstrous origin. Some of the members, it is said, were induced to yield their signatures to the solicitations of the friends of Cromwell; some to fear, and a reluctance to incur the displeasure of the powerful; several, according to one of

solemn professions and former vows, as well as the blood and treasure that had been spent in this contest, thought it high time to take off the masque, and resolved to sacrifice all our victories and deliverances to his pride and ambition, under colour of taking upon him the office, as it were, of a high constable, in order to keep the peace of the nation, and to restrain men from cutting one another's throats. One difficulty yet remained to obstruct his design, and that was the convention, which he had assembled and invested with power, as well as earnestly solicited to reform the law, and reduce the clergy to a more evangelical constitution. And having sufficiently alarmed those interests, and shown them their danger from the convention, he informs them farther, that they cannot be ignorant of the confusion that all things are brought into by the immoderate zeal of those in authority, and to what extremities matters might be reduced, if permitted to go on; possibly, said he, to the utter extirpation of law and gospel from amongst us; and therefore advised that they would join their interests to his, in order to prevent this inundation. His proposition was readily embraced by the corrupt part of the lawyers and clergy, and so he became their protector, and they the humble supporters of his tyranny. But that his usurpation might seem less horrid, he so contrived it, by his instruments, that some of the convention must openly manifest their disapprobation of their own proceedings, and under divers specious pretences put a period to their sitting. When the instrument of resignation was brought to Cromwell, 'tis said he lifted up his eyes with astonishment; and, with no less seeming modesty refused to receive it; but, at length, through the importunity of major-general Lambert and others, representing to him that the welfare of the nation absolutely required his acceptance of the parliament's resignation, he thought fit to comply with their request."

their own members, because certain of their companions and allies had done it already ; several, happy that they might so be rid of a troublesome and thankless employment ; and several, because they would not expose themselves to the charge of ambition, and an overweening love of dignity and power.* Thus was a majority at last obtained, and, within a few hours afterwards, came forth the new constitution of government, in which Oliver Cromwell openly stood supreme.

* *Exact Relation.* — There are some other points of detail in the account of the writer of the *Exact Relation*, which make it worth while to subjoin the description of the whole scene of the dissolution in his own words : — “ The speaker, forgetting the duty of his place, though he was earnestly called unto to keep the chair, he left it ; of council, took up the mace and carried *unto to the contrary, as in like manner d* an irruptious way going out of the house without any adjournment or vote, left sitting thirty or thirty-five members in the house. Whether those that so went away were a greater, or lesser number, as is more likely, it is hard to be determined ; though it be thought by some there were not seventy so early in the house. Those that went out of the house, going toward Whitehall, met some coming to the house, *who, seeing them go in that manner, thought they had adjourned thither, and so went along with them :* others they sent for up and down, where they could find them, to come to them to the house chamber, where they were. Those in the house immediately betook themselves to consider what they had to do, being so deserted of their fellows, and telling over their number, they found themselves but thirty-four or thirty-five, which could not make a house, forty being the least number that might act in a parliamentary way. As they were going to consider among themselves, a colonel and lieutenant-colonel entered the house, and desired them to depart. The members desired them to withdraw, for that they, as members of parliament, had warrant to be there ; and if they had warrant to put them out, they wished them to show it ; *but not many words passed ; they went back and opened the doors, and brought in the soldiers with their muskets, and then the gentlemen rose and went out, which was done before the other were half way at Whitehall ; and some so put out of the house went after to Whitehall, to see what they were doing, and found them in the house chamber, preparing a writing of surrender of their power back into his hands, from whom they had received it. If they had been his council, and not legislators or a parliament, much might have been in it ; it was three or four lines written in four or six several papers, that so the gentlemen might more easily read and see what it was ;* which, when the clerk engrossed on parchment, then they signed it by subscribing their names, as many as would ; first the speaker, and then others, according to their quality. It may be wondered at, that so great a power should be passed by so low and little an instrument. Some gentlemen went three or four days after, and set their hands to it. They that subscribed it did it on several grounds and reasons, *some did it knowingly to dissolve the house, before dissolved by the soldiers, and their disorderly going away, which they had plotted and resolved before ;* some because some eminent persons of their party did it before them, expecting by that means to have been rid of some of the other party at the least, and they to have continued in power without them, wherein they were deceived, and not a little vexed ; some therein looked no further than at *their own quiet, and to be rid of a troublesome employment ;* some, that they might not be thought lovers of power and dignity ; and some, out of weakness and fear of the loss of some worldly enjoyment, *which they have sufficiently repented and been sorry for since.”*

On Friday, the 16th of December, 1653, — an ominous day, — the lord-general set out in his carriage, at about one in the afternoon, from his own residence to Westminster hall, through two lines of soldiery, composed of five regiments of foot, and three of horse. When he arrived at the door of the hall, a procession formed, of persons who there awaited him, and wonderfully complete were the various arrangements for an event, of the possibility of which the chief actor, only three days before, had solemnly asseverated his utter and hopeless ignorance ! The aldermen entered first ; then the judges ; the commissioners of the great seal (Keble and Lisle) ; and the lord mayor. Behind these were the two councils, of state and the army. They ascended to the court of chancery, where a chair of state with a cushion had been placed on a rich carpet, and here arranged themselves — Keble on the right hand of the chair, and Lisle on the left ; the judges on both sides ; the lord mayor and aldermen on the right, and the members of the two councils on the left. It was a brilliant scene. The robes of the civilians blended with the full dress equipments of the soldiers in a most imposing picture, and excitement stirred on every face.

Cromwell entered, and every person in the hall uncovered. He advanced, and took his place next the lord-commissioner Lisle. He was plainly dressed — a secret artifice of pride. He wore neither robes nor uniform, but a simple suit and cloak of black velvet, with long boots, and a broad gold band round his hat. As soon as he had taken his position, Lambert advanced from the circle and addressed him. He declared the dissolution of the late parliament ; observed that the exigency of the time required a strong and stable government ; and prayed his excellency, in the name of the army and the three nations, to accept the office of protector of the commonwealth, or chief magistrate, under a new constitution, which had been prepared by the council of the army and sanctioned by the principal officers of state.*

* There can be scarcely a doubt that this assertion was only part of the

the act or instrument in which this new constitution was embodied. The reading of this act, entitled "the government of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging," occupied upwards of half an hour. It was a document of unquestionable ability, as even the brief abstract which may be admitted here will show.

Its first and most essential article was, that the supreme legislative authority should be in one person, and the people in parliament assembled; and that the style of that person should be lord protector. It proceeded, that the protector should be assisted with a council, of not fewer than thirteen, nor more than twenty-one persons*; that all writs, processes, commissions, and grants, should run in his name; and that from him should be derived all magistracy and honours; that he should order the militia and forces both by sea and land, and with his council should have the power of war and peace; that no law should be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, but by the authority of parliament; and that a parliament should be summoned in every third year. It directed that the summons to parliament should be by writ under the great seal, and that, if the protector should neglect to order these writs, the keeper or keepers of the seal should issue

that it might be king), that none of the relations of the last protector should be chosen at the next succeeding election; and that a general council of all the commission officers who were about the town, should be summoned to consider thereof. To these propositions they could obtain no other answer, than that they should be offered to the general, which was the title they yet gave to Cromwell. At the next meeting of the officers it was not thought fit to consult with them at all; but they were openly told by major-general Lambert, that the general would take care of managing the civil government; and then having required them to repair to their respective charges, where their troops and companies lay, *that they might preserve the pe*

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twelve original counsellors named by him in the preceding April six were preserved, Lambert, Desborough, Strickland, Sydenham, Philip Jones, and sir Gilbert Pickering; and six omitted, Harrison, Tomlinson, Stapely, Carew, Moyer, and Bennet. To the six preserved were added seven from among those who had been named by the parliament on their meeting, lord Lisle, *sir Anthony Ashley Cooper*, sir Charles Wolseley, Fleetwood, Montagu, Richard Major, and *Henry Lawrence*. To these counsellors were now first added by Cromwell, major-general Skippon, and *Francis Bous*, the late speaker.

them on their own authority, under pain of high treason. Also, in case of similar neglect in these officers, the sheriffs of the counties were to proceed in the election in the same manner as if the writs had been issued, under the like penalty. Each parliament was to sit five months; and, if an intermediate parliament was called by the lord protector, it was not to be prorogued or dissolved within three months, unless by its own consent. In case of war with any foreign state, a parliament was to be summoned immediately. The institute determined, that every person possessing an estate, real or personal, to the value of two hundred pounds, should have a vote at the election of members of parliament, excepting such as had been concerned in the war against the parliament or in the rebellion in Ireland. It ordered, that all bills passed by the parliament should be presented to the lord protector for his assent, and, if he did not assent within twenty days, the parliament might declare his neglect, and the bills should then become law notwithstanding. The army was limited not to exceed ten thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot. It was also directed, in an article which disclosed the secret and naked despotism which lurked beneath it all, that, till the meeting of the first triennial parliament in September, 1654, *the protector and council might have power to raise money for the public defence, and to make such laws and ordinances as the welfare of the nation should require.* No member could be removed from the council but for corruption, or such other miscarriage as should be judged by a committee from the parliament and the council, together with the keeper or keepers of the seal; the removal during the intervals of parliament to be made by the council itself with the consent of the protector. The institute further ordered, that the keeper or keepers of the seal, the treasurer, the admiral, the chief justices of the two benches, and the chief governors of Scotland and Ireland, should be nominated by parliament, and in the intervals of parliament by the protector and

council ; that, as soon as might be, a provision should be made for the maintenance of the clergy, less subject to scruple and contention, and more certain, than the way of tithes ; and that no person should be compelled to conform to the established church ; nor should any be restrained, but all protected, in the profession and exercise of his religion, with an exception of the adherents of popery and prelacy. It was one article in the institute of government, that Oliver Cromwell should be declared lord protector for life, and that, in case of his demise, the council of state should assemble to the number of not fewer than thirteen, and immediately elect his successor. This clause was generally supposed to have been inserted to conciliate Lambert, and to feed him with the hope of being second lord protector. It was altered in the subsequent petition and advice, and the power surrendered to Cromwell. The plan for the future representation of the people was, as I have already endeavoured to show, in all its essentials, copied from the celebrated act which was on the point of passing into a law on that fatal twentieth of the preceding April. The representatives for England were to be four hundred. All petty boroughs where there was scarcely a single house, were suppressed, and the representation as nearly as might be proportioned to the amount of taxation. Of these, 251 were to be county members ; beside six for London, two for the Isle of Ely, two for the Isle of Wight, and two each for Exeter, Plymouth, York, Colchester, Gloucester, Canterbury, Leicester, Lincoln, Westminster, Norwich, Lynn, Yarmouth, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Taunton, Bristol, Ipswich, Bury, Southwark, Coventry, Worcester, and Salisbury, one each for the two universities, and one each for all the towns and boroughs that were thought proper to be represented, among which Manchester is named. In addition to these, there were to be 30 representatives for Scotland, and 30 for Ireland ; the distribution of the counties, cities and places represented, and the number of their representatives respectively, being to be determined by the lord protector and his council previously to issuing the writs.

When the reading had closed, Lisle turned to Cromwell to administer to him his oath as lord protector of the commonwealth, but even at this instant the habit of dissimulation prevailed over every other, and scruples appeared, and a wonderful humility, and a most touching reluctance, which only gave way at last to an assent more touching still, in its seeming sacrifice of every selfish wish to the interests of his country ! Then, raising his right hand and his eyes to heaven with great solemnity, Cromwell swore to observe, and cause to be observed, all the articles of the instrument ; and Lambert, falling on his knees, offered to the lord protector a civic sword in the scabbard, which he accepted, laying aside his own, to denote that he meant to govern by constitutional, and not by military authority ! He then seated himself in the chair of state provided for him ; put on his hat while the rest still stood uncovered ; received the great seal from the commissioners, the sword of state from the lord mayor, formally delivering them back again ; and, having exercised these acts of sovereign authority, returned in procession to his carriage, and drove back to his palace at Whitehall, with the state and majesty of a king.

In the evening of the same day proclamation was made in every quarter of London — accompanied by all the ceremonies that had hitherto been used on the accession of a new monarch — of the establishment of a new government by means of a chief magistrate and triennial parliaments ; and the people were called upon to offer their allegiance and obedience in all things to

OLIVER CROMWELL,
LORD PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

Cromwell's first act was to revive the forms of monarchy. He issued new patents to the judges, as on the occasion of a succession to the crown.* He then

* It appears from the order books and law records, that the first law-term of the year commenced on the 2d of January ; and, accordingly, four days before, a fresh patent was issued to Rolfe, chief justice of the

completed the arrangements of his council, as named in the instrument of government, in the mode best fitted

upper, and Atkins, one of the puisne judges of the common bench; on the first day of term, a similar patent was granted to St John, chief justice of the common bench; and before the end of the month patents were made out to Aske, a puisne judge of the upper bench, and Thorpe, a baron of the exchequer. At the same time Matthew Hale (I borrow many of these details from Mr. Godwin's *Researches*) was made a judge of the common bench, and Robert Nicholas, who had previously been a judge in the upper bench, was added to Thorpe in the exchequer. Wild, who had been made chief baron in the year before the king's death, was desirous of being continued in his office, but could not obtain that favour from the protector. Shortly after these appointments, a list was formed of twelve persons to hold the assizes at the principal towns of England for the spring circuit. Secret instructions were at the same time given to such as the new protector could rely on, that they were "to take especial care to extend all favour and kindness to the cavalier party." (Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 489.) Rolle and Glyn were named for the western circuit, St. John and Atkins for the Oxford, Aske and Richard Newdigate for the home, Thorpe and Ellis and William Conyers for the North or the northern. Five of these persons, and Windham had not received patents as judges, and must therefore have officiated merely *pro hac vice*. Hale, Pepys, Newdigate and Windham were called to the degree of serjeant at this time, together with Steele, the recorder, Maynard, Thomas Fletcher, and Thomas Twisden. Glyn and Conyers had been made serjeants in August 1648. The names of Glyn and Maynard are emphatic proofs that these wily men anticipated a brilliant prospect for their detestable principles under this reign of Cromwell. Attorney-general Prideaux had a fresh patent from the protector (docket book of the crown office), January 23. 1654, and William Ellis was made solicitor-general (*ibid.*), May 24. The names of these persons are given in the list of patents.

Cromwell. "It is said, that I was the dark lantern and privy counsellor in setting up and managing affairs in the late Oliver Protector's time. This wholly denied, and the contrary true, and many witnesses of my manifesting my dislike. In October I fell sick so dangerously, that from that time till the end of May, my friends *expected death*; I think in December or January he was set up, *when I was at the worst*." But I have already given abundant proofs of St John's servile assistance to his great relation in all his worst designs. I cannot suffer the more honourable name of MATTHEW HALE to pass even in a note without giving (from Burnet's History of his own Time), two memorable instances of the way in which he discharged the functions of that office, to which it is one of the greatest merits of Cromwell to have appointed him. "Not long," says the bishop, "after he was made a judge, when he went the circuit, a trial was brought before him at Lincoln, concerning the murder of one of the townsmen, who had been of the king's party, and was killed by a soldier of the garrison there. He was in the fields with a fowling-piece on his shoulder, which the soldier seeing, he came to him, and said, it was contrary to an order which the protector had made, that none who had been of the king's party should carry arms, and so he would have forced it from him; but as the other did not regard the order, so being stronger than the soldier, he threw him down, and having beat him, he left him. The soldier went into the town, and told one of his fellow soldiers how he had been used, and got him to go with him, and he in wait for the man that he might be revenged on him. They both watched his coming to town, and one of them went to him to demand his gun, which he refusing, the soldier struck at him, and as they were struggling, the other came behind, and ran his sword into his body, of which he presently died. It was in the time of the assizes, so they

to promote his aims.* Colonel Henry Lawrence was nominated president for a month, re-appointed at its expiration till further orders; and, in fact, retained the office during the whole of the protectorate. Thurloe, a man of thorough fitness for the work, was named secretary to the council, or, as he is frequently styled, secretary of state; and Walter Frost, the secretary under the commonwealth, was appointed to an office which was called treasurer for the council's contingencies. Philip Meadows was chosen secretary for the Latin tongue, the office held under the statesmen by Milton; and Milton's name was entered in the order book along with these, but unaccompanied with any specification of salary, or of the business in which he was to be employed.†

were both tried. Against the one there was no evidence of forethought felony, so he was only found guilty of manslaughter, and burnt on the hand; but the other was found guilty of murder: and though Colonel Whalley, that commanded the garrison, came into the court, and urged that the man *was killed for disobeying the protector's orders*, and that the soldier was but doing his duty; yet the judge regarded both his reasons and threatenings very little, and therefore he not only gave sentence against him, but *ordered the execution to be so suddenly done, that it might not be possible to procure a reprieve*, which he believed would have been obtained, if there had been time enough granted for it. Another occasion was given him of showing both his justice and courage, when he was in another circuit. He understood that the protector had ordered a jury to be returned for a trial in which he was more than ordinarily concerned. Upon this information he examined the sheriff about it, who knew nothing of it, for he said he referred all such things to the under sheriff; and having next asked the under sheriff concerning it, he found the jury had been returned by order from Cromwell; upon which he showed the statute, that all juries ought to be returned by the sheriff or his lawful officer; and this not being done according to law, he dismissed the jury, and would not try the cause: upon which the protector was highly displeased with him, and at his return from the circuit, *told him in anger he was not fit to be a judge; to which all the answer he made was, that it was very true.*"

* The following is the list, as published officially, of the names of the councillors:—Philip viscount Lisle; Charles Fleetwood; John Lambert; Edward Montagu; John Desborough; Walter Strickland; Henry Lawrence; sir Gilbert Pickering, bart; sir Charles Wolseley, bart; sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, bart; William Sydenham; Philip Jones; Richard Major; Francis Rous; Philip Skippon. To these were added, February 7. 1654, Humphrey Mackworth; April 27. Nathaniel Finnes; and, June 30. Edmund Sheffield earl of Mulgrave. The salary of each councillor was 1000*l* per annum. (See Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 581.) One of the first orders issued was that the council should sit on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, in the morning, and on Friday, both morning and afternoon, and not at other times, without special direction from the lord protector. The sittings were to commence at nine, and not to continue after one; and each member, who did not appear at nine, and was absent without reasonable excuse, was to forfeit *two shillings and sixpence*.

† Mr. Godwin has directed special attention to the constitution of this

While the council arrangements proceeded, the most extravagant rumours became rife in London. The new protector had already been secretly crowned; Lambert was commander-in-chief and a duke, Oliver St. John lord treasurer, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper lord chancellor, and lord Say chamberlain of the household.* The peerage of England was to be restored, the various lords were to repair immediately to London, and submit to the new government; plays and players were to "go up" again, and all was to jog merrily on once more in the old road.† This was a little too fast for Cromwell. He went to work in a more gradual way. His next actions were directed, indeed, to that most miserable result, but though they argued more than the power of monarchy, they were as yet content to fall somewhat short of its forms. He proceeded to exhibit in practice that monstrous clause in the act of his authority which gave, before the assembling of parliament, absolute legis-

council. The members, he would have us recollect, were named in the act of government, which was always represented by Cromwell himself as of such paramount authority, that even the parliament itself was not entitled to call it in question. No one of them could be displaced but for corruption or other miscarriage in his trust, and in that case the parliament was to appoint seven of its members, and the council six, who, together with the lord chancellor, lord keeper, or commissioners of the great seal for the time being, should have power to hear and determine such corruption or miscarriage, and to award and inflict such punishment as the nature of the offence might deserve, which punishment should not be pardoned or remitted by the lord protector: the major part of the council, with the consent of the protector, being authorised in the intervals of parliament, to suspend any of their number, till the accusation against him could be heard and examined in the manner prescribed. The counsellors appointed by the act were fifteen; and the protector, with the advice of his council, might increase their number to twenty-one. But, in case of death or other removal, the parliament was to nominate six candidates for the vacant place, out of which the council might name two, between whom the protector was to elect the successor. All this may be quite true, and such a boon was naturally enough given at first setting out to the resolute and selfish officers, who were to believe that the new form of government was as much an aristocracy or oligarchy as a monarchy. But Cromwell was not long in teaching them their mistake. He only waited to be more firmly planted in his chair, and then did not scruple to proceed in the most important matters, without an order of council, and, as it should seem, without even consulting his assessors of state.

* Thurloe's papers give a variety of rumours of this kind.

† "His highness is not yet come to Whitehall; 200,000*l.* is settled upon him yearly; he is choosing officers of state. It is thought that the lords will be sent for to attend him at court, to acknowledge and submit to the government, and wee heare that *plays are goeing up againe, and that things had beene coming to the old roade.*" — *Thurloe*, vol. ii. p. 8.

lative as well as executive power to him and his council.*

One of his first ordinances was, in a manner, to abolish the commonwealth he had been called in to protect. It publicly repealed the memorable engagement imposed on the English people by the statesmen, to be true and faithful to the commonwealth of England, as then established, without king or house of lords.† A second ordinance significantly declared the new offences that were to be taken and adjudged for treason. These were, — to compass or imagine the death of the lord protector; to raise forces against the present government; to deny that the protector and the people assembled in parliament are the supreme authority of the nation, or that the exercise of the chief magistracy is centred in him; *to affirm that the government is tyrannical, usurped or illegal, or that there is any parliament now in being*; and, finally, the effort to proclaim, or in any wise to promote, any of the posterity of the late king to be king or chief magistrate of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or any of the dominions thereto belonging.

Other ordinances, either of this or a somewhat later date, may also claim mention here. Various duties and imposts, as those of excise, were continued for a certain term, and one of two acts which had been brought to their last stage of completion by the statesmen of the long parliament, now received the efficacy of law. Among these, were the ordinance of union

* It provokes only laughter and contempt when we observe, from the order book of the protector and his council, that when they passed bills the forms were exactly copied that were used in the two houses of parliament! every bill is read twice; then referred to a committee, which committee ordinarily consists of three persons, of whom two are a quorum; afterwards read a third time; and lastly presented to the protector as the advice of the council, and by him passed for a law, and ordered to be printed and published. Yet the council, when full, only amounted to fourteen, as Fleetwood continued in Ireland. What a mean and base inculcation of hypocrisy is here!

† I may mention that Ashley Cooper had made an unsuccessful effort to effect this in the Barbours parliament. On the 20th of October, 1653 a bill was brought into that parliament from a committee, and presented by sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, for annulling the engagement, but was rejected. An act for taking away one of the penalties on non-subscribers was, with some difficulty, substituted in its room.

between England and Scotland, and that of grace and oblivion to the people of Scotland * which formed its proper companion. The same course was adopted also with regard to a few acts of the little parliament, as in that which brought the public revenue into the treasury ; and that which was designed to compromise the question of chancery reform by simplifying the process of the court, and reducing its expences.† Two ordinances passed at the same time for the distribution of persons to be chosen to serve in parliament for Scotland and Ireland ; one for commissioners to approve of public preachers ; and one for the ejection of scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers.

The latter ordinances had been in some sort clamoured for by sections of the people, and were wily instances of Cromwell's power of coercing, while he seemed to be most freely giving way. A slight description of them will show of what good they were capable, and of how much monstrous evil. The commissioners under that for the approval of preachers were thirty-eight, — nine of whom were laymen, and the rest divines. At their head was Cromwell's convenient old friend and counsellor, Francis Rous, the provost of Eton. With him, among others, were associated Owen, Goodwin, Caryl, and Lockyer, Cromwell's favourite preachers ; Hugh Peters, Philip Nye, Peter Sterry, Marshal, Manton, and major-general Goffe. They were empowered to examine the qualifications of such as should be named to benefices, as well as of such as had been presented since a certain recent date. The ordinance for ejecting scandalous and ignorant ministers, was, however, infinitely more extensive, and projected a thorough purgation of the church establishment of insufficient and unworthy clergy, at whatever period they might have been inducted into their livings. It appointed commissioners, from fifteen to thirty in each

* From this grace were excepted nine earls, two viscounts, and five barons.

† See *ant.*, p. 194. and p. 206.

county*, to carry the ordinance into execution : to hear complaints against all clergy : and to deprive such as should be proved guilty of maintaining the principles condemned in the act against atheistical, blasphemous, and execrable opinions ; or of profane cursing and swearing, and perjury ; or of adultery, fornication, drunkenness, common haunting of taverns and ale-houses, and frequent playing at cards or dice : also to incapacitate such as should publicly and profanely scoff at the profession or professors of religion and godliness ; or should encourage and countenance Whitsun-ales, wakes, morris-dances, may-poles, and stage-plays ; such as should hold or maintain popish doctrines, or frequently and publicly read the book of Common Prayer, or should have declared by writing, preaching, or otherwise, their disaffection to the present government ; and such as should be non-resident, or should be accounted negligent, and omit the duties of praying and preaching. These ordinances worked as Cromwell wished. Some good was done by them, and much evil. Among the most celebrated men who suffered under them, and were with difficulty restored, may be named the most learned man of the day, Pocock, the Oxford professor of Hebrew and Arabic ; and Fuller, the famous church historian. †

* From those commissioners, at the same time, though the majority were tools of Cromwell, it was found impossible to exclude various men, the most distinguished in their counties, who had opposed the usurpation of Cromwell. I find among other names, those of lord Fairfax, lord Wharton, lord Say, Samuel Browne, Thomas Scot, sir Arthur Haselrig, sir Robert Harley, and Robert Blake, together with those of most of the members of the council, Henry Lawrence, viscount Lisle, sir Gilbert Pickering, sir Charles Wolseley, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lambert, Skippon, Sydenham and Major. The names of Richard lord Cromwell and Henry lord Cromwell, sons of the protector, were also in the commission. The ordinance named eight or ten clergy besides for every county, who were to be joined to the lay-commissioners in all questions of ignorance and insufficiency. The principal of these was Owen. The celebrated Richard Baxter, the presbyterian, was likewise included.

† I quote from a letter of Oliver to secretary Thurloe (vol. viii. p. 281). "There are," he writes, "in Berkshire some few men of mean quality and condition, rash, heady, enemies of tithes, who are commissioners for the ejecting of ministers. These alone sit and act, and are at this time casting out on slight and trivial pretences very worthy men ; one in especial they intend the next week to eject, whose name is Pocock, a man of as unblameable conversation as any that I know living, of repute for learning throughout the whole world, being the professor of Hebrew and Arabic in our

By such means, before the possibility of interference on the part of any parliament, Cromwell proceeded to settle himself firmly in his new seat of power. He had not been careless, meanwhile, of his old enthusiasts for a visionary republic, his foremost friends and dupes of the saints' reign. Within a few days after his inauguration, he sent to ask Harrison if he would own, and act under, the new power; and, on that honest fanatic's refusal, his major-general's commission was at once stripped from him. Messrs. Christopher Feakes and Vavasor Powell * shared a similar fate. At the first Blackfriars meeting after the 16th of December, these headlong zealots had devoted special denunciations against Cromwell, calling him, by name, a perjured villain, and desiring that, if any of his friends were present, they would go to him, and tell him in their name, that his reign would be short, and his end more tragical than that of the great tyrant, the last lord protector of England. † The message was delivered and as promptly answered. Feakes and Powell were flung into the Tower first, and afterwards sent prisoners to Windsor castle. One of their colleagues, named Sympson, imprisoned at the same time, was only released on making submission. Harrison was also sent, by peremptory man-

university; so that they do exceedingly exasperate all men and provoke
 themselves, took three eminent divines
 W. Ward, afterwards bishop of Salisbury)
 and expostulated with so much warmth, indignation, and success, that
 Pocock was restored. The case of Fuller was not the same character, and
 is told thus by his biographer. He received sudden notice that he should
 be cited before the commissioners, and, in this emergency, applied to his
 friend, John Howe, chaplain to Cromwell, and one of the most eloquent
 writers of his time, to know how he should conduct himself. "You must
 have observed," said Fuller, "that I am a pretty corpulent man, and I am
 to go through a passage that is very strait; I beg that you will be so kind
 as to give me a shove, and help me through." Howe accordingly sug-
 gested to him the most suitable advice, and when the commissioners
 came to propose the question, which formed the path of their examinations,
 "Whether he had at any time experienced a work of grace on his soul,"
 Fuller replied, "that he could appeal to the witness of his heart, that
 he had on all occasions made con- with
 which answer the commissioners expr

* See *anté*, p. 215.

† Richard III.

date from the council board into a watched retirement in his native county of Stafford.

The same vigorous measures were pursued in every quarter where there was reason to fear resistance. Cromwell everywhere transferred the chief army commands to men in whom he could best confide, and quartered troops most effectively against the various chances of insurrection. As an additional security, he sent his son Henry into Ireland, and Monk into Scotland, to deal upon the spot with any sudden defections.

Henry Cromwell had inherited the largest share of his father's genius dispensed to his children. He had risen rapidly to the rank of a colonel, by purely honourable service in the Irish campaign; acquitted himself with great ability in the "little" parliament; and was generally supposed to have no mean share in his father's confidence and counsel. A special part of his instructions on the present mission appears to have been, to observe in the various counties through which he travelled from London to Holyhead, as well as in Ireland, how the people, *and the army in particular*, stood affected to the present government.* When he arrived in Dublin he found Fleetwood in some anxiety and alarm; and but for his sudden appearance, the enthusiasm with which he was received, and the courteous address, singular skilfulness, and admirable good sense, with which he treated all parties he found, — it is more than doubtful whether the protectorate could have been quietly established there. When, about a month before, it had been put to the vote, at a meeting of the commissioners of government with three or four principal officers of the army, whether they should proceed without delay to proclaim the lord protector, it was only carried in the affirmative by a single voice.† From that time, Ludlow informs us in his memoirs, he entirely withdrew himself from the civil government, and continued to act in his military capacity alone.‡ Every

* Several Proceedings, p. 149. 162.

† Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 482.

‡ Yet Henry Cromwell produced even a considerable effect on this

thing was quiet, however, and promised to continue so, when Henry Cromwell, after a sojourn of three weeks, returned to England.

sturdy republican. Their interview, as recorded by himself, has various very interesting points in it, characteristic of the artifices of the lord protector, and also of the honest and sincere distinctions that were wisely drawn by such men as Ludlow between the power of the sword before, and after, the death of Charles the First. "He sent," says Ludlow, "his second son, col. Henry Cromwell, into Ireland, to feel the pulse of the officers there touching his coming over to command in that nation, where he arrived, *attended only by one servant*; and landing near my country house, I sent him my coach to receive him, and to bring him thither, where he stay'd till lieutenant-general Fleetwood, with several officers, came with coaches to conduct him to Dublin. Having made what observations he could of persons and things in Ireland, he resolved upon his return; of which having given me advice, I desired him to take my house in his way, and to that end dined with him on the day of his departure, at the lieutenant-general's in the castle. After dinner, we went together to my house at Monctown, where, after a short collation, walking in the garden, I acquainted him with the grounds of my dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs in England, which I assured him was no sort personal, but would be the same were my own father alive and in the place of his. He told me that *his father looked upon me to be dissatisfied, upon a distinct account from most men in the three nations*; and thereupon affirmed that he knew it to be his resolution to carry himself with all tenderness towards me. I told him I ought to have so much charity for his father to believe that he apprehended his late undertaking to have been absolutely necessary, being well assured that he was not so weak a man to decline his former station, wherein his power was as great, and his wealth as much, as any rational man could wish, to procure to himself nothing but envy and trouble. I supposed he would have agreed with me in these sentiments; but he, instead of that, acknowledged the ambition of his father in these words: '*You that are here may think he had power, but they made a very kickshaw of him at London*'. I replied that it it were so, they did ill; for he had deserved much from them. Then I proceeded to acquaint him with my resolution not to act in my civil employment, and my expectation not to be permitted to continue in my military command; to which he answered, that he was confident I should receive no interruption therein. I told him I could not foresee what his father would do; but inclined to think that no other man in his case would permit it. To this I added, that the reason of my drawing a sword in this war, was to remove those obstructions that the civil magistrate met with in the discharge of his duty; which being now accomplished, I could not but think that all things ought for the future to run in their proper and genuine channel; for as this extraordinary remedy is not to be used till the ordinary fail to work its proper effect, so ought it to be continued no longer than the necessity of using it subsists; whether as thus they called a government had no other means to preserve itself but such as were violent, which not being natural, could not be lasting. 'Would you then,' said he, 'have the sword laid down? I cannot but think you believe it to be as much your interest to have it kept up as any man!' I confessed I had been of that opinion whilst I was persuaded there was a necessity for it, which seemed to me to be now over. I accounted it to be much more my interest to see it well laid down, there being a vast difference between using the sword to restore the people to their rights and privileges, and the keeping it up for the robbing and despoiling them of the same. But company coming in, and the time for his going on board approaching, we could not be permitted to continue our discourse; so after we had taken leave of each other, he departed from Ireland, and upon his arrival at Chester, was attended by many of the late king's party; and amongst others by col. Molson, who inquiring of him how he left affairs in Ireland, he answered very well, only

Monk's mission to Scotland was not less successful. He vanquished the royalist movement under Middleton ; removed Robert Lilburne, an honest republican, from his command ; superseded three anti-protectorate zealots, Okey, Overton, and Alured ; and administered correction to the regiments of Harrison and Pride, at this time quartered in Scotland, though their leaders were in the south. Overton was Milton's friend, and the great poet, though personally attached to Cromwell, was so far from deserting him in his disgrace, that he selected that very time for the offer of his most affectionate tribute. "Te Overtone," wrote the generous Milton, dragging his name into a mention of Cromwell's council to which Overton did not belong, "mihi multis abhinc annis, et studiorum similitudine, et morum suavitate, concordia plusquam fraternâ conjunctissime ; te Marstonensi prælio illo memorabili, pulso sinistro cornu nostro, respectantes in fugâ duces stantem cum tuo pedite, et hostium impetus propulsantem inter densas utrinque cædes videre ; Scotico deinde bello, ut primûm Cromwelli auspiciis, tuo Marte occupata Fife littora, et patefactus ultra Sterlinium aditus est ; te Scoti occidentales, te Boreales humanissimum hostem, te Arcades extremæ domitorem fatentur."

Cromwell had meanwhile a comparatively easy task at home, for the chief portion of the people in and near London were still content to wait in a kind of patient indifference what the future would bring forth.* The

that some who were in love with their power must be removed." — *Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 490—492.

* The peculiar feelings which lay at the bottom of this indifference, or patience, have been thus described by an actor in the events of the time : — "That which disposed the minds of the people to abstain from a present protestation against this government, besides the agony of the late confusions, and the astonishment upon the new wonderful alteration, was, that it was but temporary, and that limited to a very short time ; a free parliament was to be called within so many months, which was entirely to consider and settle the government of the kingdom, and to remove all those obstructions which hinder the peace and happiness of the nation, and to restore it to that tranquillity and quiet it had been so long deprived of ; and the protector was sworn to a due observation of all those articles which he had himself prescribed for his own rules and bounds, and therefore the more hope that he would be contented to be limited by them." — *Letter from a member of the late parliament to one of his highness's council.*

presbyterians, who always numbered thickly in the city, he had in some sort conciliated by placing certain members of their body on his commission for the approval of preachers, and bishop Burnet tells us all that we need further know concerning the bargain by which this sordid set consented to be duped. "As for the presbyterians," says the bishop, indulging, in his usual coarse fashion, at once the falsehood and the truth, "they were so apprehensive of the fury of the commonwealth party, *that they thought it a deliverance to be rescued out of their hands* ; many of the republicans began to profess deism ; and almost all of them were for destroying all clergymen, and for breaking every thing that looked like the union of a national church. They were for pulling down the churches, for discharging the tithes, and for leaving religion free, as they called it, without either encouragement or restraint. Cromwell assured the presbyterians he would maintain a public ministry with all due encouragement ; and he joined them in a commission with some independents, to be the triers of all those who were to be admitted to benefices. These disposed also of all the churches that were in the gift of the crown, of the bishops, and of the cathedral churches : *so this softened them.*"

More respectable dupes of a different class were represented by John Goodwin, who, with an infinite and almost boundless trust in the lord generalship, was troubled with thick coming fancies about the protectorate, and feared it might one day intercept the millenium. Bishop Burnet has still more aptly described Cromwell's masterly manner of cajoling John Goodwin. He it was, the bishop tells us, "who first brought in Arminianism among the sectaries, for he was for liberty of all sorts. Cromwell hated that doctrine ; for his beloved notion was, that *once a child of God was always a child of God*. Now he had led a very strict life for above eight years together before the war ; so he comforted himself much with his reflections on that time, and on the certainty of perseverance. But none

of the preachers were so thorough paced for him, as to temporal matters, as Goodwin was ; for he not only justified the putting the king to death, but magnified it as a most glorious action men were capable of. He filled all people with such expectation of a glorious thousand years speedily to begin, that it looked like a madness possessing them. It was no easy thing for Cromwell to satisfy those, when he took the power into his own hands ; since that looked like a *step to kingship, which Goodwin had long represented as the great anti-christ that hindered Christ's being set on his throne.* To these he said, and, as some have told me, *with many tears*, that he would rather have taken a shepherd's staff than the protectorship, since nothing was more contrary to his genius than a show of greatness : but he saw it was necessary at that time to keep the nation from falling into extreme disorder, and from becoming open to the common enemy : and, therefore, he only stepped in between the living and the dead, as he phrased it, in that interval, till God should direct them on what bottom they ought to settle : and he assured them, that then he would surrender the heavy load lying upon him with a joy equal to the sorrow with which he was affected while under that show of dignity. *To men of this stamp he would enter into the terms of their old equality, shutting the door, and making them sit down covered by him, to let them see how little he valued those distances that for form sake he was bound to keep up with others.* These discourses commonly ended in a long prayer."

With royalists, again, Cromwell held a different way, concerning which the bishop is able to proffer some information also. In proportion as a single life seemed alone to stand between them and power, he knew that assassination would become more and more their policy.*

* He had in point of fact already had experience of this. Within a fortnight of his inauguration a plot came before his council. The conspirators were all royalists. It was a wild and foolish scheme, but its groundwork was supposed to be the feasibility of assassinating Cromwell as he went into the city. Eleven of the plotters were arrested at a tavern in the Old

He declared, therefore, in quarters from which he was aware it would speedily be repeated in their places of chief resort, — “he declared,” according to the bishop, “often and openly, that in a war it was necessary to return upon any side all the violent things that any of the one side did to the other. This was done for preventing greater mischief, and for bringing men to fair war; therefore, he said, assassinations were such detestable things, that he would never begin them; but if any of the king’s party should endeavour to assassinate him, and fail in it, he would make *an assassinating war of it*, and destroy the whole family: and he pretended he had instruments to execute it, whensoever he should give order for it. The terror of this was a better security to him than his guards.”

To such of the royalists, at the same time, as in any way proffered him allegiance, he had nothing but courtesy and favour; while, from such as were at all detected in plots against his government or person, he would not consent to avert the law’s heaviest arm. He had judged rightly in ascribing the first place in royalist hopes and resolves to schemes of assassination. Within a brief space after the declarations recorded by Burnet, a project of this kind, unparalleled for its shameless atrocity, had been set on foot in Paris.

In Paris, Charles Stuart still lived, in the mimic state of a king, with his lord-keeper Ormond, his chancellor of the exchequer Hyde, his privy councillors and officers of household. It will naturally be supposed that Hyde had a sinecure in his office. This pitiful court was in truth in a villanous condition of beggary. A clean shirt was a rarity, and a good dinner a thing long remembered.* Surrounded by such sordid wants, Charles

Bailey, the most distinguished of whom were a Mr. Thomas Dutton and a son of Bunce, who was one of the four aldermen impeached by the independents in 1647, and was now in exile with Charles Stuart. They were sent to the Tower, and kept imprisoned there.

* There is not a particle of exaggeration in this “*I do not know*,” says one of them (Clarendon’s State Papers, vol. iii. p. 174.), in a letter

Stuart yet spent his monthly allowance of six thousand francs from the French king with a profligate and reckless profusion while it lasted, in which no beggar or pensioner has before or since excelled him. But suddenly the rise of the protectorate—of the renewed government by a single person—shed rays of unaccustomed hope upon his ragged courtiers, and he was induced to turn aside for a time from the embraces of Lucy Walters, to listen to the lively project of a general muster of murderers from Ormond and Hyde.

In a short space, a proclamation had obtained extensive circulation through private channels in Paris and London, which began thus:—"By the king, Charles the Second, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, to all our good and loving subjects, peace and prosperity. Whereas a certain mechanic fellow, by name Oliver Cromwell, hath, by most wicked and accursed ways and means, against all laws, both divine and human, most tyrannically and traitorously usurped the supreme power over our said kingdoms. . . . these are in our name to give freedom and liberty to any man whomsoever, within any of our three kingdoms, by pistol, sword, or poison, or by any other ways or means whatsoever, to destroy the life of the said Oliver Cromwell, wherein they will do an act acceptable to God and good men." The proclamation further promised "in the faith of a Christian king," to the perpetrators and his heirs a reward of five hundred pounds a year for ever, and the honour of knighthood; and, "if he is a soldier, the office of a colonel, with such other honourable employment, as may render him capable of attaining to further preferment

dated the 27th of June 1653,—*"I do not know that any man is yet dead for want of bread; which really I wonder at. I am sure the king owes for all he hath eaten since April, and I am not acquainted with one servant of his who hath a pistole in his pocket. Five or six of us eat together one meal a-day for a pistole a week; but all of us owe, for God knows how many weeks, to the poor woman that feeds us."* In another letter, of the date of the 3d of April 1654, we find this passage:—"I want shoes and shirts, and the marquis of Ormond is in no better condition. What help, then can we give our friends?" Many similar proofs might be quoted.

corresponding to his merit." * Copies of this infamous proclamation, which has been attributed †, on excellent authority, to the ready pen of Sir Edward Hyde, were speedily, as I have said, and very largely circulated; but solemn secrecy was at the sametime preserved, and they were of course communicated to none but those from whom good faith, perhaps engagement in the purposed enterprise, was thought beyond question sure.

But what is good faith among assassins! Cromwell had already began a system of espionage, which kept in nearly every royalist or fanatic circle "a servant feed." The very agents whom Charles Stuart employed, were most frequently the men who betrayed his secrets ‡, — the assassins, on whose daggers he most relied, were generally men who seduced his wretched adherents into imaginary plots, that by opportune discovery they might curry favour with the lord protector. A man of this class was a major Henshaw. On the appearance of the proclamation he repaired to Paris, in company with an enthusiastic young royalist, named Gerard. § Here a conspiracy was organised, and Gerard and Henshaw returned to England to complete it. The lord protector was to be murdered on the road as he passed from Whitehall to Hampton Court — the guards at the former place were to be suddenly disarmed — the town surprised — and Charles II. proclaimed. In this plot a number of men engaged, and it was given in evidence on the trial, that Cromwell received notice of the de-

* Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 248-9

† See Godwin's Commonwealth, 4th volume.

‡ The same system followed Charles closely when he left France for Cologne. On one occasion the letters were opened at the post-office, and a despatch was found from a retainer in Charles's service, named Manning, to Thurloe. Being questioned before Charles, Manning confessed that he received an ample maintenance from the protector, but defended himself on the ground, that he was careful to communicate nothing but what was false. That his plea was true, appeared from his despatch, which was filled with a detailed account of a fictitious debate in the council, but even the falsehoods which he had sent to England, had occasioned the arrest and imprisonment of several royalists, and Manning was shot as a traitor at Duvnwald, in the territory of the duke of Neuburg. Lingard's England, vol. ii. Chap. iii. 583-9. Whitelocke, 133. Thurloe, iv. 293

§ Colonel John Gerard, only twenty-two years of age, first cousin to Charles Gerard, created a baron by Charles the First in 1645, and afterwards, in 1679, made earl of Macclesfield.

sign but a few hours before it was to have been executed, and was only able to render it abortive by crossing the water at Putney, and thus avoiding the ambuscade. But this was merely to conceal the treachery of Henshaw, who, having disclosed every thing in time to the council, suddenly vanished from the whole affair, and was seen in it no more.* The truth was, that the chief conspirators were taken the night before the appointed day; some of them, as Gerard, were dragged out of their beds to prison; and a variety of others, on little or no pretence whatever, were seized in the character of accessories.†

A high court of justice was instantly erected by ordinance, and the three leading conspirators, Gerard, Vowel, and Fox, were at once placed upon their trial.‡ Fox pleaded guilty, in furtherance of a secret arrangement, to corroborate in that way the secret evidence of Henshaw, and earned and obtained his pardon. Vowel and Gerard defended themselves gallantly, but unavailingly.§ A scaffold was now erected still more rapidly than the high court of justice, and Vowel died upon it with the glorying sense of martyrdom; and Gerard, after avowals of enthusiastic royalty, mingled with protestations not less earnest that the murder of the lord protector formed no part of what he meant to have done, perished there also.||

* It was pretended on the part of the prosecution that he had escaped. Thurloe discloses to us, however, that he was safe in the Tower.

† Cromwell appears to have merely seized the occasion as a good one for taking some eminent persons into custody, among whom were sir Gilbert Gerard, brother to the colonel, the earl of Oxford, sir Richard Wallis and the two Ashburnhams; done upon the poorest pretence of suspecting that they were concerned in the conspiracy. The prisoners altogether exceeded forty in number.

‡ Commissioner Lisle sat as its president. The other judges were Aske and Nicholas of the upper bench, Atkins of the exchequer, Steele recorder, seven aldermen, and twenty other persons.

§ Vowel's first demand was a more equitable form of trial—a trial by jury of peers according to the sixth article of the government of the commonwealth. The court answered that they were his peers, and that he might see that the *individuals on the bench* exceeded twelve in number! Glyn affirmed, moreover, that the ordinance, though made only by the protector and council, was undoubtedly in force, till the parliament should repeal it. He added that, in the old law of treason, king signified merely supreme governor, that it had been so construed in the case of a queen, and that it equally extended to a lord protector.

|| Nor did Cromwell's retaliation on Charles and his assassins close here.

But a still more memorable act of justice was performed an hour later on the same scaffold, which struck still wider terror into the enemies of authority in England. Among the brilliant legacies of foreign supremacy left to Cromwell by the statesmen, were the adjusted preliminaries of a treaty between the commonwealth and the Portuguese. These, however, during the recent changes of state authority, had not yet been signed, though circumstances * had only increased a desire to have them ratified on the part of the Lisbon court. Meanwhile, an extraordinary incident had occurred to the Portuguese embassy. About a fortnight before the dispersion of the little parliament, a sudden dispute, as if by some strange fatality, arose in the new exchange in the Strand, between Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portuguese ambassador, and this very Gerard, whose execution we have just witnessed. A scuffle followed, but the combatants were separated. The next evening, however, Pantaleon repaired to the same place with a body of armed companions, and assaulted and killed a person named Greenway, quite unconcerned in the dispute, whom he mistook for Gerard. His purpose, as he believed, being effected, he took refuge in the house of the ambassador. But, that minister, after having in vain pleaded his privilege, was obliged to surrender the assassin and his accomplices, who were at once committed to Newgate. Their trial followed within a few months after Cromwell's

He ordered a "True Account of the late Bloody Conspiracy" to be published as by special authority, in which Charles Stuart is expressly described as a man bedabbled in all the blood that had been shed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and naturally a nullifidian in all points of civil honesty, as well as religion. "His demeanour therefore," the writer adds, "being well weighed, we need say little concerning his faith, as supposing not many will fall in love with him for that, which he seems not much to love; but, if we consider his education, and his alliances with relations and dependencies upon foreign papists, we may easily conclude what religion he is of, if any. So that, whether we call to mind the fate and wretchedness of his family, or his own personal qualifications, we conceive it hardly imaginable that any pious, honest and sober-minded man would contribute so much as a thought, much less embroil his country in blood, for the restoring so blood-guilty, perfidious, and infamous a house and person."

* It was supposed that Cromwell already contemplated hostilities against Spain; a prospect hailed with natural delight by the enemies of that power

elevation amidst unprecedented excitement in behalf of the accused on the part of foreign courts and their ministers, and on the part of the London populace against them.* Pantaleon was condemned with four of his accomplices, and though three of the latter were pardoned †, no influence or argument, no threat or inducement, could prevail with Cromwell in favour of the chief offender. To demonstrate still more openly to the world of Europe the fearlessness and power of the new authority in England, he so arranged that the morning of the day appointed for the execution of Pantaleon should be fixed for the final settlement of the Portuguese treaty. Within a few hours after the ambassador had signed that treaty ‡, his brother's head fell for the crime of murder upon a public scaffold — the same scaffold on which had perished, one hour before, that very Gerrard, in connection with whom the crime may be said to have begun — amidst the approving shouts of an immense croud, who had gathered to witness the scene of terrible retribution.§

* One of the foreign ministers distinctly declares, that Pantaleon was sacrificed to the clamours of the people. But had he, or had he not, committed the murder? His friends said it was a mistake — an accident — a matter of self-defence; but the friends of murderers are fond of that argument. On the trial it was pleaded for Pantaleon, 1st, That he was an ambassador, and therefore answerable to no one but his master; and, 2d, that he was a person attached to the embassy, and therefore covered by the privilege of his principal. But the instrument which he produced in proof of the first allegation was no more than a written promise that he should succeed his brother in office; and in reply to the second, it was maintained that the privilege of an ambassador, whatever it might be, was personal, and did not extend to the individuals in his suite. At the bar, after several refusals, he was induced by the threat of the *peine forte et dure*, to plead not guilty; and his demand of counsel, on account of his ignorance of English law, was rejected on the ground, that the court was "of counsel equal to the prisoner and the commonwealth."

† The fourth was Pantaleon's immediate retainer, who was proved to have been foremost in the deed. He was hanged at Tyburn on the day of his master's execution.

‡ I can adduce an eminent authority, in praise of this treaty, which was as I have said, the work of the statesmen. No less a person than Lord Chancellor Hyde, in his speech to both houses, May 8 1661, calls it "in very many respects the most advantageous treaty to this nation that ever was entered into with any prince or people." And again, in the same speech, he says, "every article in it but one [a liberty given to Portugal to make levies of ten thousand men for their service] was entirely for the benefit of this nation, for the extraordinary advancement of trade, for the good of religion, and for the honour of the crown." — *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, vol. II. p. 172.

§ I grieve to have to subjoin that, by an execution of a different kind some short time before, Cromwell had sought, and not unsuccessfully, to propitiate the presbyterians. I was not acquainted with the circumstances

The statesmen had already taught habits of respect and fear to the foreign powers of Europe, and Cromwell thus early showed that he would improve upon that lesson. It is certain that the wily Mazarin, then prime minister of France, had been induced at its commencement to favour Gerrard's plot in Paris *, and that one of his confidential emissaries, De Baas, had favoured it in London. But the execution of Gerard, and the as ignominious return of De Baas, convinced the cardinal of his error; and nothing hereafter checked the servile desire of favour, with which "all the kings of the earth prostrated themselves before this idol.† Ambassadors and envoys from most of the princes of Europe crowded

till I saw them described in Dr. Lingard's History Colonel Worsley had apprehended in his bed a Catholic clergyman, of the name of Southworth, who, thirty-seven years before, had been convicted at Lancaster, and sent into banishment. The old man *he had passed his seventieth-second year*) at his arraignment, pleaded that he had taken orders in the church of Rome, *but was innocent of any treason.* The recorder advised him to withdraw his plea, and gave him four hours for consideration. But Southworth still simply owned that he was a Catholic and in orders. Judgment of death was pronounced; and Cromwell, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of the French and Spanish ambassadors, resolved that he should suffer. It was not that the new protector approved of sanguinary punishments in matters of religion, but that he had no objection to purchase the good will of the fierce, sordid presbyterians, by shedding the blood of a priest. Whether it were through curiosity, or respect, two hundred carriages and a crowd of horsemen followed the hurdle on which Southworth was drawn to the place of execution. On the scaffold he spoke with satisfaction of the manner of his death, but at the same time pointed out the inconsistency of the men, who pretended to have taken up arms for liberty of conscience, and yet shed the blood of those who differed from them in religious opinions. He suffered the usual punishment of traitors *Lingard, vol. ii. p. 211, 212*

* This was in his doubt as to the real condition of things in England — a doubt for which even the crafty Italian may be well excused. The royalists told him, it would seem, and naturally enough, that nothing could be more precarious and uncertain than the government of the protector; that he was almost without friends; that the anabaptists had deserted him; that the republicans hated him; and that even the army was divided respecting him: while, on the other hand, the bulk of the English nation, the old royalists, and the presbyterians, looked with earnest impatience for the restoration of the house of Stuart. Mazarin, startled at last into some belief of this, despatched an emissary named De Baas, ostensibly to assist Bordeaux in his negotiations for a treaty, but in reality to confer with the Gerard conspirators, to inquire out the malcontents, and if he found the schemes that were in contemplation feasible to favour them to the extent of his power. But all this, as soon as conceived by Mazarin, was known to Cromwell, and shortly after De Baas's arrival in London, Cromwell sent for him, confronted him with one of the conspirators, and having heard him fully in his own vindication, overwhelmed him with indignation, his employer with scorn; and so dismissed him. Bordeaux at the same time lost no favour; he had not known any thing of the plots, but continued admirably affected to the protector.

† Wicquehn, Ambassador and his Functions, p. 17.

to the court of the protectorate, and the anterooms of its palace were filled with their hopes and fears. In receiving them he abridged no jot of the state of a sovereign. He had now removed all his family *, — including his aged and excellent mother, who passed her few remaining days and nights in continual alarm for her dear son's safety; his wife, "who seemed at first unwilling to remove thither, though afterwards she became better satisfied with her grandeur;"† and his favourite daughter Claypole, whom, though married, he could not bear to see separated from his side; his gentle and even handsome likeness of himself, Mary; and his mirthful youngest Frances — from their old apartments in the cockpit, to share the splendours of his palace at Whitehall. The latter had been newly furnished for their reception in a most costly and magnificent style; and in the banqueting-room was placed a chair of state on a platform, raised by three steps above the floor. Here the protector stood to receive the ambassadors. They were instructed to make three reverences, one at the entrance, the second in the midway, and the third at the lower step, to each of which Cromwell answered by a slight inclination of the head. When they had delivered their speeches, and received the reply of the protector, the same ceremonial was repeated at

* It is very strange, that about the only really illiberal passage to be found in Mrs. Hutchinson's delightful memoirs, has relation to Cromwell's family. Had the woman's jealousy against woman — of which as little as ever lodged in heart may confidently be attributed to Lucy Hutchinson — any thing to do with this? This is her remark: — "His wife and children were setting up for principality, which suited no better with any of them than scarlet on the ape; only, to speak the truth of himself, *he had much natural greatness, and well became the place he had usurped*. His daughter Fleetwood was humbled, and not exalted with these things; but the rest were insolent fools. Claypole, who married his daughter, and his son Henry, were two debauched ungodly cavaliers. Richard was a peasant in his nature, yet gentle and virtuous, but became not greatness. His court was full of sin and vanity, and the more abominable, because they had not yet quite cast away the name of God, but profaned it by taking it in vain upon them. *True religion was now almost lost even among the religious party, and hypocrisy became an epidemical disease*, to the sad grief of Col. Hutchinson, and all true-hearted Christians and Englishmen." There is great power, and a most melancholy truth, in the last observation. I may subjoin, from a minute in the council book, that the quarterly expenditure of the protector's household amounted to 35,000*l.* See entry of. March 14, 1655

† Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 488.

their departure. On one occasion, he was requested to permit the gentlemen attached to the embassy to kiss his hand ; but he advanced to the upper step, bowed to each in succession, waved his hand, and withdrew.*

This was that kind of regal state which even the most discontented of the English people could best endure to see assumed by Cromwell. In the glory of their common country they forgot their own gravest and most fatal dissensions. Whatever quarrels they had amongst each other, they always kept cordial agreement in this — that foreigners should not fool them. It became, therefore, matter of common rejoicing that here the lord protector went hand and heart with leveller, with anabaptist, with presbyterian, with republican. They saw him often claim indeed, far more than the common exactions of old regal ceremony for the honour of his commonwealth ; and the more he exacted, the more they rejoiced. In the complaints of insulted ministers they might have even heard their poet's lines reversed —

" This is a Turkish, not an English court,
An Amurath, an Amurath succeeds,
Not Harry Harry " —

and would still have thought themselves only the more exalted. This it was, beyond a doubt, which made many well-intentioned men too prone to pardon the sins of Cromwell's domestic rule. And there was in it a mixture of good and evil, though in such circumstances the evil greatly preponderated. When we rejoice in the feeling of what looks like tyranny practised against another country than ours, we may begin to doubt the perfect freedom of our own. The one is little better than a secret set-off against the other. It is the effort to conceal a degrading truth by the glare of a miserable vanity. The John Goodwins, who were allowed to wear their hats in Cromwell's presence, and, as it were, to " hob and nob " with my lord protector, were for that reason better contented, to go home

* See Lingard, vol. ii. p. 217. ; the Clarendon Papers, vol. iii. p. 240. ; and various passages in the first volume of Thurloe.

slaves. So an insult to Portugal, or a kick to Spain, was found in the end the most consolatory prescription for a new wound to liberty at home ; and though it was quite true, that Cromwell realised his boast of making the name of an Englishman as great with foreign countries "as ever that of a Roman had been," not less certain and melancholy must be our addition, that he branded upon the name of an Englishman a stamp of domestic slavery as debased as ever in its worst days that of a Roman suffered.

Bishop Burnet only describes the excellent and just side of this English feeling when he observes, in the history of his times, that "Cromwell's maintaining the honour of the nation in all foreign countries, gratified the vanity which is very natural to Englishmen ; of which he was so careful, that though he was not a crowned head, yet his ambassadors had all the respect paid them which our kings' ambassadors ever had. He said the dignity of the crown was upon the account of the nation, of which the king was only the representative head, so the nation being still the same, he would have the same regard paid to his ministers."* There cannot be a doubt that the only pleasing part of the writer's duty who would fairly describe the protectorate, must begin and end with his description of such passages in its foreign policy.

And yet it must not be admitted, that in the treaty of peace with the Dutch, which was now signed, after a

* In the same passage the bishop goes on to relate a most amusing and characteristic anecdote. Still speaking of Cromwell he adds, "the states of Holland were in such dread of him, that they took care to give him no sort of umbrage, and when at any time the king or his brothers came to see their sister, the prince's royal, within a day or two after they used to send a deputation to let them know that Cromwell had required of the states that they should give them no harbour. King Charles, when he was seeking for colours for the war with the Dutch in the year 1672, urged it for one, that they suffered some of his rebels to live in their provinces. Borel, then their ambassador, answered, that it was a maxim of long standing among them, not to equate upon what account strangers came to live in their country, but to receive them all, unless they had been concerned in conspiracies against the persons of princes. The king told him upon that, how they had used both him and his brother. Borel in great simplicity, answered : ' Ha ! Sire, c'étoit une autre chose : Cromwell étoit un grand homme, et il se faisoit craindre et par terre et par mer.' This was very rough. The king's answer was : ' Je me ferai craindre aussi à mon tour.' but he was scarce as good as his word."

ten months' tedious negotiation, Cromwell secured those great advantages which the statesmen had proposed by their large expenditure of blood and treasure. The reverse is, indeed, the fact. There cannot be a question that the lofty pretensions set forth by the statesmen in their conduct of the war, were silently abandoned in this treaty. And Cromwell's motives were obvious and pressing. Monk, after ceasing to become his creature, explained them in the remark, that it was "a base treachery in Cromwell to make a sudden peace with the Dutch, and betray all the advantages of the war *that he might go up to the throne with more peace and satisfaction.*" Peace had at the moment become necessary for the consolidation of the new authority, and it is obvious, from the nature of the concessions Cromwell claimed in lieu of those surrendered, that the mere selfish thought of his own convenience and safety actuated the settlement of the terms of it. They made no mention of indemnity for the past, or security for the future; of the incorporation of the two states; of the claim of search; of the tenth herring; or even of the exclusion of the prince of Orange from the office of stadtholder. To these conditions the pride of the states had refused to submit; and Cromwell was content to accept two other articles, which, while they appeared equally to affect the two nations, *were in reality directed against the Stuart family and its adherents.** It was stipulated that neither

* Lingard, vol. ii. p. 224. In one of the abandoned articles of the treaty Cromwell had already betrayed his motives, which were, as far as possible, to distress *his rival*, Charles Stuart, by stripping him of all hope of foreign support. From the prince of Orange, so nearly allied to the royal family, Cromwell had little to fear during his minority, and, to render him incapable of benefiting the royal cause in his more mature age, he attempted to exclude him by the treaty from succeeding to those high offices which might almost be considered as hereditary in his family. The determined refusal of the States induced him to withdraw the demand; but he still intrigued, through the agency of Bevernigh, with the leaders of the Louvestein faction, and obtained a secret article, by which the states of Holland and West Friesland promised never to elect the prince of Orange for their stadtholder, nor suffer him to have the chief command of the army and navy. But the secret transpired; the other states highly resented this clandestine negotiation; complaints and remonstrances were answered by apologies and vindications; an open schism was declared between the provinces, and every day added to the exasperation of the two parties. The ultimate result was decidedly to strengthen the claims of the young prince of Orange, and to baffle Cromwell.

commonwealth should harbour or aid the enemies, rebels, or exiles of the other ; but that either, being previously required, should order such enemies, rebels, or exiles, to leave its territory under the penalty of death, before the expiration of twenty-eight days. The main provisions of the treaty belong to history, and I need only here relate the other article to which I have referred. This was that the same respect which had been paid to the flag of the king should be paid to that of the commonwealth. The Dutch did not object, and the majority of the English people, not so thoroughly understanding the points surrendered as this which they had achieved, were loud in their rejoicings at this close of so long and terrible a war.

Peace was proclaimed with great solemnity, and "that same day at night," says one of the Dutch ambassadors, Jongestall, in an interesting despatch to Frederick of Nassau, the ' guns went off at the Tower, and aboard the ships three times, and bonfires made, according to the customs of the country before Whitehall, and up and down the city. *We did the like*, on the backside of our house, towards the river, and burnt near eighty pitch-barrels, and we had trumpeters and others to play all the while. The river was so full of boats that there was hardly any water to be seen ; at the same time *several lords and ladies of quality came to see us*, whom we treated. In sum, all things were done here in great solemnity. Yesterday at noon we were invited to dinner to his royal highness the lord protector, where we were nobly entertained. Mr. Strickland and the master of the ceremonies came to fetch us in two coaches of his highness, about half an hour past one, and brought us to Whitehall, *where twelve trumpeters were ready sounding against our coming*. My lady Nieuport and my wife were brought to his highness presently, the one by Mr. Strickland and the other by the master of the ceremonies, who received us with great demonstrations of amity. After we staid a little, we were conducted into another room, where we found a table ready covered. *His highness*

sat on one side of it, ALONE; my lord Beverningk, Nieuport, and myself, at the upper end; and the lord president Laurence, and others, next us. There was in the same room another table covered for other lords of the council and others. At the table of my lady protectrice dined my lady Nieuport, my wife, my lady Lambert, my lord protector's daughter, and mine. The music played all the while we were at dinner. The lord protector had us into another room, where the lady protectrice and others came to us, where we had also music and voices, and a psalm sung, which his highness gave us and told us that it was yet the best paper that had been exchanged between us. And from thence we were had into a gallery next the river, where we walked with his highness about half an hour, and then took our leaves, and were conducted back again to our houses, after the same manner as we were brought. My lord protector showed a great deal of kindness to my wife and daughter in particular." This is certainly a pleasing picture of Cromwell's courteous habits, and the at once dignified and graceful conduct of his household.

Nor did the muses refuse to give their aid to the dinners, the trumpets, and the pitch barrels, in celebration of this peace. Cambridge and Oxford combined their choicest flowers of Greek and Latin verse into one rich garland for the brow of the protector. The Cambridge vice chancellor, Seaman, led the way: Arrow-smith, Tuckery, and Horton, men who were famous then; Whichcote and Cudworth, men famous still; followed after him.* The elder and more venerable school of Oxford supplied names and tributes more memorable still. Doctor Owen, Doctor Zouch, Professor Harmer, Doctor Bathurst, Leonard Lichfield, and Doctor Busby, joined one chorus of praise to Cromwell for his deeds in war and peace, and his generous

* Other names of eminence in their day of the Cambridge tributes, which were published in the *Pacis. Ad Illustrissimum Celsissimum Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ Domnum Protectorem Belgis feliciter sancita, Carmen Cantabrigiense.*"

patronage of learning.* It proved a good rehearsal for Charles II. Then a more modest voice from a greater than these, John Locke, at that time an accomplished student of Oxford, arose to dignify the theme.† Passing them with this allusion merely, I have been unable to pass one name which occurs towards the close of the list, subscribed to verses which transcend all the rest in a vile extravagance of praise. “*Tu Dux*,” exclaims this fervent flatterer in very pitiful phrases —

. . . *Tu dux pariter Terræ Domitorq; profundi,
Componant laudes cuncta elementa tuas
Cui mens alta subest pelagoq; profundior ipso,
Cujus fama sonat, quam procul unda sonat.*

*Tu poteras solus motos componere fluctus,
Solut Neptunum sub tua vincla dare
Magna simul fortis vicisti et multa : Trophæis
Ut mare, sic pariter cedit arena tuis.
Nominis pacifico gestas insignia pacis,
Blandaq; per titulos serpit Oliva tuos ;*

and the flatterer was Doctor South, who afterwards earned a bishopric by calling Cromwell a bankrupt beggarly fellow, of thread-bare coat and greasy hat ! ‡

But the new lord protector of England had a nobler congratulation, and in better Latin, addressed to him at this period, with a name attached to it, which, though humble then, and kept down by the pressure of the world, has now risen higher than his own, or than that whole world itself, into the clearer region of immortality.

* The Oxford men styled their effusions thus : — “ *Musarum Oxoniensium ἑΑΑΙΟΦΟΡΙΑ*. Sive, ob Fœdera. Auspiciis Serenissimi Oliveri Reipub. Ang. Scot. et Hiber. Domini Protectoris, inter Rempub Britannicam et Ordines Fœderatos Belgii Feliciter Stabilita, Gentis Togatæ ad vada Idisidri Celestina Metricum.”

† The reader may be interested to see this early poetical effusion of the young philosopher and lover of toleration and liberty. Here it is.

*Pax regit Augusti, quem vicit Julius orbem ;
Ille sago factus clarior, ille togâ.
Hos sua Roma vocat magnos et numina credit,
Hic quod sit mundi victor, et ille quies.
Tu bellum et pacem populis des, unus utrisq; ;
Major es ; ipse orbem vincis, et ipse regis
Non hominem e cœlo missum : Te credimus ; unus
Sic poteris binos qui superare deos !*

‡ In another discourse he called him “ a lively picture of Jeroboam,” and had the impudence to say of the leading ecclesiastics of the university in Cromwell’s time : the time when this poem was printed, that “ Latin was with them a mortal crime, and Greek, instead of being owned for the language of the Holy Ghost (as in the New Testament it is,) was looked upon as the sin against it ; so that, in a word, they had all the confusions of Babel amongst them without the diversity of tongues.”

Milton published his "Defensio Secunda," and thus addressed him. The Latin is noble, but it translates into still nobler English.

"Consider frequently," said this wise but too partial counsellor, "in thy inmost thoughts, how dear a pledge, from how dear a parent recommended and entrusted (the gift liberty, the giver thy country,) thou hast received into thy keeping. Revere the hope that is entertained of thee, the confident expectation of England; call to mind the features and the wounds of all the brave men, who under thy command have contended for this inestimable prize; *call to mind the ashes and the image of those who fell in the bloody strife*; respect the apprehension and the discourse that is held of us by foreign nations, how much it is they look for, in the recollection of our liberty so bravely achieved, of our commonwealth so gloriously constructed; *which if it shall be in so short a time subverted, nothing can be imagined more shameful and dishonourable*: last of all, REVERE THYSELF, so deeply bound, that that liberty, in securing which thou hast encountered such mighty hardships, and faced such fearful perils, shall, while in thy custody, neither be violated by thee, nor any way broken in upon by others. Recollect, that *thou thyself canst not be free, unless we are so: for it is fitly so provided in the nature of things, that he who conquers another's liberty, in the very act loses his own*; he becomes, and justly, the foremost slave. But, indeed, if he, the patron of our liberty, and (if I may so speak) its tutelar divinity,—if he, of whom we have held that no mortal was ever more just, more saintlike and unspotted, should undermine the freedom, which he had but so lately built up, this would prove not only deadly and destructive to his own fame, *but to the entire and universal cause of religion and virtue*. The very substance of piety and honour will be seen to have evaporated, and the most sacred ties and engagements will cease to have any value with our posterity; than which a more grievous wound cannot be inflicted on human interests

and happiness, since the fall of the first father of our race. Thou hast taken on thyself a task which will probe thee to the very vitals, and disclose to the eyes of all how much is thy courage, thy firmness, and thy fortitude ; whether that piety, perseverance, moderation, and justice, *really exist in thee*, in consideration of which we have believed that God hath given thee the supreme dignity over thy fellows. To govern three mighty states by thy counsels, to recall the people from their corrupt institutions to a purer and nobler discipline, to extend thy thoughts and send out thy mind to our remotest shores, to foresee all, and to provide for all, to shrink from no labour, to trample under foot and tear to pieces all the snares of pleasure, and all the entangling seducements of wealth and power ; — these are matters so arduous, *that in comparison of them the perils of war are but the sports of children*. These will winnow thy faculties, and search thee to the very soul ; they require a man, sustained by a strength that is more than human, and whose meditations and whose thoughts shall be in perpetual commerce with his Maker.”

Admitting the premises on which this counsel is founded, as freely as though under the immediate influence and persuasiveness of Cromwell himself, to which alone, on the sacred lips of such a man as Milton, they are fairly attributable — the time now approaches in which a test will be applied to it, and to the faith it rests upon, at once final and irrevocable. The instrument of government had fixed the 3d of December for the meeting of the first parliament of the protectorate, but in the writs now issued Cromwell inserted the 3d of September instead. That was his FORTUNATE DAY, his day of Dunbar and Worcester ; and with a sense of how much good fortune he needed in the battle he was about to fight, he selected the 3d of September for his first meeting with this formidable enemy !

Meanwhile Whitelocke returned from Sweden, with the ratification of a most favourable treaty of commerce between England and that country, and a prohibition of

protection and favour to the enemies of either. It detached Sweden from the interest of France, and engaged it to maintain the liberty of trade in the Baltic, against Denmark, which was in the interest of Holland. The news of Christina's extraordinary resignation of her crown followed hard upon his return, but her successor, Charles X., at once confirmed the treaty.* This was no sooner done

* Whitelocke has given so interesting and graphic a mention of Cromwell's style of receiving the ambassador who brought the confirmation and assent of Charles the Tenth, that the reader will thank me for inserting it here. "His (the ambassador's) people," says the memorialist, "went all bare, two and two before him in order, according to their qualities; the best men last; the master of the ceremonies next before him; 1 on his right hand, and Strickland on his left hand. They made a handsome show in this equipage, and so went up to the council-chamber, where the ambassador repos'd himself about a quarter of an hour, and then word being brought that the protector was ready in the banquetting-house, he came down into the court again, and in the same order they went up into the banquetting-house. Whitehall court was full of soldiers in good order, the stairs and doors were kept by the protector's guards in their livery coats, with halberts; the rooms and passages in very handsome order; the banquetting-house was richly hung with arras, multitudes of gentlemen in it, and of ladies in the galleries. The ambassador's people were all admitted into the room, and made a lane within the rails in the midst of the room. At the upper end, upon a foot-pace and carpet, stood the protector with a chair of state behind him, and divers of his council and servants about him. The master of the ceremonies went before the ambassador on the left side; the ambassador in the middle, betwixt me and Strickland, went up in the open lane of the room. As soon as they came within the room, at the lower end of the lane, they put off their hats: the ambassador a little while after the rest, and when he was uncover'd, the protector also put off his hat, and answer'd the ambassador's three salutations in his coming up to him, and on the foot pace they saluted each other as usually friends do: and when the protector put on his hat, the ambassador put on his as soon as the other. After a little pause, the ambassador put off his hat, and began to speak, and then put it on again; and whensoever in his speech he named the king his master, or Sweden, or the protector, or England, he moved his hat, especially if he mentioned any thing of God, or the good of Christendom, he put off his hat very low; and the protector still answered him in the like postures of civility. *The ambassador spoke in the Swedish language*, and after he had done, being but short, his secretary did interpret it in Latin. After his interpreter had done, the protector stood still a pretty while, and putting off his hat to the ambassador, with a low bow, said, 'My lord ambassador, I have great reason to acknowledge with thankfulness the respects and good affection of the king your master towards this commonwealth, and towards myself in particular, whereof I shall always retain a very grateful memory, and shall be ready upon all occasions to manifest the high sense and value I have of his majesty's friendship and alliance. My lord you are very welcome into England, and during your abode here, you shall find all due regard and respect to be given to your person, and to the business about which you come. I am very willing to enter into a nearer and more strict alliance and friendship with the king of Sweden, as that which in my judgment

than the king of Denmark hastened to conciliate Cromwell also, and entered at once into a treaty that the English traders should pay no other customs or dues than the Dutch ; and that thus they should be enabled to import on the same terms those naval stores which before, on account of the heavy duties, they had been content to buy at second-hand of the Dutch. Thus had the lord protector already signed four treaties favourable to England, on the part of four great countries to which she had been opposed, while France and Spain, held to have been the two proudest nations of the earth, inveterate foes to each other, were struggling in a mean rivalry as to which should first obtain his favour.

" Each knew that side must conquer *he* would own,
And for him fiercely, as for empire, strove."

It is yet singular to observe, in one of his private letters of the time, that he puts on to his most confidential associates an appearance of infinite humility, a regret for his poverty of resources, and a reluctance to provoke too much of the attention of men to his personal and private doings. It is an answer to a request from the father of Richard Cromwell's wife ; apparently a request for co-operation in some design of bestowing a new establishment on Richard and his wife, becoming their new rank as eldest son and daughter to the lord protector. But the lord protector is still the lord general, and shows equal caution and care. " DEERE BROTHER,—I receaved your lovinge letter, for which I thanke you ; and surely were itt fitt to proceed in that businesse, you should not in the least have beene putt upon any thinge but the trouble, for indeed *the land in Essex, with some monie in my hand, and some other remnants*, should have gone towards itt. But indeed I am so unwillinge to bee a Seeker after the World, havinge had so much favour from the Lord in

will tend much to the honour and commodity of both nations, and to the general advantage of the protestant interest I shall nominate some persons to meet and treat with your lordship upon such particulars as you shall communicate to them."

givinge me so much without seekinge, and soe unwillinge that Men should think mee soe, which they will though you only appeare in it (for they will by one meanes or other knowe it) that indeed I dare not meddle, nor proceede therein. Thus I have tould you my plain thoughts. My hartye love I present to you and my Sister, *and my blessinge and love to deere Doll and the little one*, with love to all. I rest your lovinge brother, OLIVER, P.*

Such letters may prove to us what things widely separate and apart were the private and public professions of this extraordinary man. In public he was clearly to be held as merely the organ of a higher power. Nothing was done by his "seekinge" there. It was God who spoke out in him; who elevated men or depressed them; who "rained snares" upon his enemies or blessings on his friends; who made him, Oliver Cromwell, a prince, whether he would or no, and was alone responsible for it!

"For yet dominion was not *his* design,

"

heaven,
join;
given." †

In private it was another matter. It became him to reflect on his humility there, and do nothing that should provoke the remarks of men. He was dust, and would return to dust; and in relation to that melancholy element which merely composed himself, had only to be patient and suffer. It was the extreme rebound from this state of feeling which gave birth to his worst actions. God had taken him by the hand and given him permission to walk; when, "to show how he could walk, he strode. ‡" Every new accession to his power

* It is addressed, "For my loving brother, Richard Major, esq, at Horsley, in Hampshire."

† Dryden.

‡ This is the expression of Walter Savage Landor, who says finer things, in better English, than any other writer of our time. It will be the honour and happiness of a succeeding age to discover the priceless value of his books. He has made allusions to Cromwell very lately, and though far from agreeing in all his remarks, they should find insertion not the less in every notice of our English lord protector. "Cromwell" says Mr. Landor, "was destitute of all those elegancies which adorned the Roman dictator, but he alone possessed in an equal degree all those which ensure the con-

was, in other words, a new manifestation of God's mercy, and the very extravagance of his ways at last became only the fullest demonstration of his and of God's uncontrollable sovereignty ! It is not hard to say what term we should apply to this, in any other case than that of Cromwell. Meanwhile, we see the disadvantages under which it placed his immediate associates, relatives, dependents, and followers, who had

stancy of fortune .. And was Cromwell, then, sincere and pure ? Certainly not, but he began in sincerity, and he believed to the last that every accession of power was an especial manifestation of God's mercy. Fanaticism hath always drawn to her self such conclusions from the bible. Power made him less pious, but more confident. God had taken him by the hand at first, and had now let him walk by himself. To show how he could walk, he strode. Religion, in the exercise of power, is more arbitrary, more intolerant, and more cruel than monarchy ; and the sordid arrogance of presbyterianism succeeded to the splendid tyranny of episcopacy. The eroser of Laud was unbroken ; those who had been the first in cursing it, seized and exercised it ; it was to fall in pieces under the sword of Cromwell. To him alone are we indebted for the establishment of religious liberty. If a Vane and a Milton have acknowledged the obligation, how feeble were the voices of all men living if the voices of all men living were raised against it. Cromwell did indeed shed blood ; but the blood he shed was solely for his country, although without it he never would have risen to the protectorate." Mr. Landor then, contrasting Cromwell with Napoleon, thus proceeds : " A king should never be struck unless in a vital part. Cromwell, with many scruples, committed not this mistake: Buonaparte, with none, committed it. The shadow of Cromwell's name overawed the most confident and haughty. He intimidated Holland, he humiliated Spain, and he twisted the supple Mazarin, the ruler of France, about his finger. All those nations had then attained the summit of their prosperity ; all were unfriendly to the rising power of England ; all trembled at the authority of that single man who coerced at once her aristocracy, her priesthood, and her factions. No agent of equal potency and equal moderation had appeared upon earth before. He walked into a den of lions and scourged them growing out. Buonaparte was pushed into a menagerie of monkeys, and fainted at their grimaces... Rudeness, falsehood, malignity, and revenge, have belonged in common to many great conquerors, but never to one great man. Cromwell had indulged in the least vile of these ; but on his assumption of power, he recollected that he was a gentleman. No burst of rage, no sally of ribaldry, no expression of contemptuousness, was ever heard from the lord protector. He could subdue, or conciliate, or spell-bind the master-spirits of his age : but it is a genius of a far different order that is to seize and hold futurity : it must be such a genius as Shakespeare's or Milton's. No sooner was Cromwell in his grave than all he had won for himself and his country vanished. If we must admire the successful, however brief and hollow the advantages of their success, our admiration is not due to those whose resources were almost inexhaustible, and which nothing but profligate imprudence could exhaust, but to those who resisted great forces with means such as Kosciusko and Hofer, Hannibal and Sertorius, Alexander and Cæsar, Charles of Sweden and Frederick of Prussia. Above all these, and above all princes, stands high Gustavus Adolphus, one of whose armies, in the space of six weeks, had seen the estuary of the Elbe and the steeples of Vienna ; another, if a fever had not wasted it on the lake of Constance, would, within less time, have chanted Luther's hymn in St. Peter's .. Signal as were Cromwell's earlier services to his country," ends Mr. Landor with a terrible and indisputable truth, " he lived a hypocrite, and died a traitor."

the man they knew in private to contrast with the man the public knew.

Between the issue of the writs and the meeting of parliament, the lord protector was entertained in the city. Attended by his council, the principal officers of the army, and many persons of quality, he paraded in the midst of his life-guards from Whitehall to Temple-bar. Here the lord mayor and aldermen were waiting for him ; when the former, advancing to his coach, presented the city sword. This being returned, the recorder, in an inflated city speech, pronounced the compliments which are usually paid to sovereigns ; to “ which learned harangue, the lord protector returned for answer ‘ that he was greatly obliged to the city of London, for this and all former testimonies of respect.’ And then, mounting his horse of state, rode in a kind of triumph through the principal streets ; the several companies, in their livery gowns, being placed on each side thereof, in scaffolds erected for that purpose ; the lord mayor carrying the sword bare-headed before him to Grocers’ hall, where a most magnificent entertainment was provided. After dinner, his highness knighted the lord mayor, and made him a present of his own sword from his side ; which was the first instance of the protector’s assuming this piece of regal grandeur. The bells rang all the day ; the Tower guns were fired at his highness’ taking leave of the city ; and, about seven in the evening, he and his attendants returned back to Whitehall in their coaches.”* Ludlow has a striking remark, in his memoirs, on the result of this city visit. The exhibition, he says, was contrived to let the world see how good a “ correspondence” prevailed between the protector and the capital ; but among discerning men it had a contrary effect. It was perceived to be an act of force rather than of choice. This appeared in the great silence and little respect that was given to the lord protector in his passage through the streets, although he, to invite such re-

* Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 274.

spect, rode bareheaded the greatest part of the way. "Some of his creatures had placed themselves at the entrance of Cheapside, and began to shout; yet it took not at all with the people." The people had not, in truth, in any way recovered their indifference, notwithstanding all the efforts of the last twelve months to propitiate and excite them. It remained to be seen what a parliament would do.

At last arrived the eventful 3d of September. It happened to be Sunday, but Cromwell still adhered to his resolve that the new members returned to serve in parliament should meet that day. Many things were strong in him, but none so strong, with all his earnest submission to the hand of God in human affairs, as a superstitious sense of destiny and fortune. Upwards of three hundred representatives of the people met accordingly on Sunday afternoon in the abbey church of Westminster, and thence repaired to the house of commons at about four o'clock. Here a message was sent that the lord protector awaited them in the painted chamber, where he had arrived by water from Whitehall. Thither they went accordingly to his highness, who "standing bare, upon a pedestal erected for that purpose," told them that having met, he desired they would now adjourn, since he had things to communicate to them "not so fit to be delivered that day," and would, if they so pleased, meet them on the morning of the day following, in the abbey church of Westminster. The members bowed obedience, returned to their house, and formally adjourned.*

It must have heavily taxed Cromwell's faith in his fortunate day to withhold from sad forebodings as he returned that evening to his palace. He could have little hope from those three hundred English representatives, among whom he had seen steadily gazing upon him, as he spoke in the painted chamber, the well-remembered faces of Scot, of Haselrig, and Bradshaw! Still Vane was not among them†, nor Harry Marten, nor

* Parl. Hist., vol xx. p. 317.

† Vane's motives for withholding from public exertions at this crisis.

Algernon Sidney, nor Edmund Ludlow. There was in that no indifferent consolation. He had also succeeded in his efforts to exclude some few of the more fierce republican officers — for all the power of his government had been put forth to influence the elections ; and, not content with this, the various returns had been officially examined by a committee of his council, under pretext of seeing that the provisions of the “ instrument ” were observed. It was this pretext which sufficed to exclude major Wildman, lord Grey of Groby, and a few others, while Harrison and the more violent anabaptists were again placed under positive restraint. He had also secured the election of all his council, his principal officers, and his household, excepting the lord viscount Lisle. His sons, Richard and Henry, were returned, and Fairfax and Blake. Many of the nobility had been rejected, but the earl of Stamford, the earl of Salisbury, and a few others, had secured seats. Judges Hale and Thorpe, serjeant Glyn, and the Oxford vice-chancellor Owen, sat also in this celebrated assembly — than which no authoritative body, with greater claims to respect and attention, had sat down in England since November 1640. Returned, for the most part, under a fair working of many admirable provisions out of Vane’s reform bill, it represented, beyond a doubt, the sense of at least one large and most respectable portion of the influential English people. The small boroughs, the places most exposed to influence and corruption, had been disfranchised. Of the four hundred members of which the parliament consisted, two hundred and fifty-one had been chosen by the counties, and the rest by London and the more considerable corporations. The meanest of the people too had been excluded from the elective franchise ; a property of two hundred pounds having been required to qualify any one to vote. One most considerable limitation had, indeed, been placed on all this freedom,

have sufficiently been touched on in his memoir, with the other incidents which marked his career in and after the protectorate.

which was, that the plan of electing the sixty members who were to represent Scotland and Ireland not being thoroughly fixed, they were in a particular degree subject to the influence of the court. In addition to this, it is only needful to observe, that all persons who had in any way aided and assisted in the civil war against the parliament, together with their sons, were disqualified to vote. The lord protector had at least no pretence to say that out of factious hatred to all authority save their own, royalists, republicans, and presbyterians had, for once, consented to act together.

At ten o'clock on the morning of Monday the 4th of September, Cromwell proceeded in great state from Whitehall to the abbey of Westminster. He was preceded by two troops of life-guards; then rode some hundreds of gentlemen and officers, bareheaded, and in splendid apparel; immediately before the state carriage walked the pages and lackeys of the protector in rich liveries, and on each side a captain of the guard; behind it came Claypole, master of the horse, leading a charger magnificently caparisoned; and Claypole was followed by the great officers of state and the members of the council. All eyes were fixed on Cromwell himself, a striking and proud contrast to the gorgeous parade of the procession. He was dressed in a plain suit, after the simple fashion of a country gentleman; but he wore his hat, while Lambert, who occupied the opposite seat of the carriage, sat splendidly attired, and bareheaded. After sermon, all the members hurried over to the painted chamber, and seated themselves, uncovered, on benches ranged around the walls. The lord protector then entered, and took his place in the chair of state, from which he soon afterwards rose, removed his hat, and addressed the assembly in a speech which lasted three hours.

This speech was at once artful and able: very forcibly and simply expressed where he had any case to lodge against the policy of his adversaries; most involved, obscure, and villanously verbose, where he affected to disclose

his own purposes : it was profound in its various points of craft and dissimulation ; pious and fervently enthusiastic to the saints ; modest and lowly to the republicans.

He began by telling them that they were met on the greatest occasion their country had ever witnessed. He dwelt on those evils with which England had lately been menaced ; he craftily referred to the dangerous principles of the levellers, striking, as he said, at the root of all property ; and, safe in the sympathy of his audience on that head, he denounced the wild spirit of the various sects of fifth monarchy men, which, he asseverated, aimed at directly extirpating the very existence of the clerical order, on the pretence that it was Babylonish and antichristian. Alluding, then, with a cold and deliberate hypocrisy, to the proceedings of the Barbone convention, he asserted that projects and conspiracies had been extensively formed among its members for the subversion of all those laws which had been produced by the revolution of property and the manners of our ancestors, and for substituting in their stead the law of Moses. He next, with a view to propitiate the independents and republicans who listened to him, threw out subtle allusions to the difference between liberty of conscience as that convention would have established it, to the overthrow of all government and ministry, and the liberty of conscience he would substitute in its stead. "Such considerations and pretensions," he observed, "of liberty of conscience, and liberty of subjects, two as glorious things to be contended for as any God has given us ; yet both these also abused for the patronising of villanies, in so much as that it hath been an ordinary thing to say, and in dispute to affirm, that it was *not in the magistrate's power* ; he had nothing to do with it ; *not so much as the printing a bible in the nation for the use of the people, lest it be imposed on the consciences of men* ; for they must receive the same traditionally and implicitly from the power of the magistrate, if thus received. The aforementioned abominations did thus swell to this height amongst us. *The axe was thus laid to the root of*

the ministry ; it was antichristian ; it was Babylonish. It suffered under such a judgment, that the truth of it is, as the extremity was great on that, I wish it prove not so on this hand. The extremity *was*, that no man having a good testimony, having received gifts from Christ, might preach, if not ordained. So *now*, many on the other hand affirm, that he who is ordained hath a nullity or antichristianism stamped upon his calling, so that he ought not to preach, or not be heard. I wish it may not too justly be said, that there was severity and sharpness ; yea, too much of an imposing spirit in matters of conscience ; a spirit unchristian enough in any times, most unfit for these ; denying liberty to those who have earned it with their blood ; who have gained civil liberty, and religious also, for those who would thus impose upon them."

In a still more artful passage of most accomplished dissimulation, Cromwell managed to associate the fifth monarchy men with the practices of the Jesuits, attributing to the latter much of the confusion that had risen. "Notions," he said, "will hurt none but them that have them ; but when they come to such practices as to tell us, that liberty and property are not the badges of the kingdom of Christ ; and tell us, that, instead of regulating laws, laws are to be abrogated, indeed subverted ; and perhaps would bring in the judaical law, instead of our known laws settled amongst us : this is worthy of every magistrate's consideration, especially where every stone is turned to bring confusion. Whilst these things were in the midst of us, and the nation rent and torn, in spirit and principle, from one end to another, after this sort and manner I have now told you ; family against family, husband against wife, parents against children ; and nothing in the hearts and minds of men but 'overturn overturn, overturn,' (a scripture phrase very much abused, and applied to justify unpeaceable practices by all men of discontented spirits,) *the common adversary in the mean time sleeps not* ; and our adversaries, in civil and spiritual respects, did take

advantage of these divisions and distractions. and did practise accordingly in the three nations. *We know very well that emissaries of the jesuits never came in those swarms as they have done since these things were set on foot.*"

He then resumed his general view of affairs. To add to our miseries, he said, we had been at war with all our neighbours. Contest with Holland had absorbed all the pecuniary resources, while a commercial war with France and Portugal cramped the industry, of the nation. He bade them contrast this picture with the existing state of things. At last, every thing having been driven to the worst, and a remedy having become indispensable, that remedy had been found; namely, the government which was instituted in the preceding December. That government had effected a happy peace with all protestant states, with Holland, with Sweden, and with Denmark; and so had relieved us from an accumulation of ruinous expenses, and opened many salutary channels for our trade. A treaty had been signed with Portugal, also, which would place the British trader beyond the reach of the inquisition, and another was in progress with the ambassador of the French monarch. Nor had the government been inattentive to internal advantages. They had made considerable progress in a plan for the reformation of the law, which would in due time be laid before parliament. They had placed the administration of justice in the hands of men of known integrity and ability. They had reformed the Court of Chancery. They had taken proper measures for establishing the clerical functions in men of piety, soberness, morality and learning, and "a stop had been put to that heady way, for every man who pleased to become a preacher." A passage from this portion of the speech will show the simplicity and plainness with which Cromwell expressed himself on the few occasions when he dared to do so

"It hath," he said, speaking still of his government "had some things in desire, and it hath done some things actually. It hath desired to reform the laws,

I say, to reform them ; and, for that end, it hath called together persons (without reflection) of as great ability, and as great integrity, as are in these nations, to consider how the laws might be made plain and short, and less chargeable to the people ; how to lessen expense for the good of the nation ; and those things are in preparation, and bills prepared, which in due time, I make no question, will be tendered to you. There hath been care taken to put the administration of the laws into the hands of just men ; men of the most known integrity and ability. . . The chancery hath been reformed, and, I hope, to the just satisfaction of all good men ; and, for the things depending there, which made the burden and work of the honourable persons intrusted in those services beyond their ability, it hath referred many of them to those places where Englishmen love to have their rights tried, the courts of law at Westminster.”

The last assertion made by the lord protector on behalf of his authority on this memorable occasion, was afterwards remembered to his bitter disadvantage. Not the least, he said, did it rank in their claims to public gratitude, that they had been instrumental in bringing together *this free parliament*. They had thus brought the three nations by hasty strides towards the land of promise ; it was for that parliament to introduce them into it. The prospect was bright before them ; let them not look back to the onions and flesh-pots of Egypt. He entreated of the persons there assembled, to put the top-stone to the work which they had so auspiciously begun, and make the nation happy. He said that their task was that of composing all understandings and jealousies, and he professed to them, that, if this meeting did not prove healing, he was at a loss to decide what was next most advisable to be done. He spoke not as their lord, he protested, but as their fellow-servant ; their fellow-labourer with them in the same good work ; and would, therefore, detain them no longer, but desire them to repair to their own house

and choose their speaker. This elaborate speech, we are told by its reporter, was followed by tokens of satisfaction, and hums of approbation, from various parts of the assembly.

The approbation lasted but a little time, however, for when, on the return of the members to their own house, the court officers rose and proposed Lenthall as the speaker, the opposition immediately named a rival candidate in the formidable person of Bradshaw. They did not care, however, to press the election to the vote. They did not so much object to Lenthall, as they desired to show the independent and free spirit with which they had there assembled. So Lenthall was elected; the one party glad, because they had secured in him a timid and time-serving tool—the other not sorry, because in him they saw a remnant of their old long parliament, and could even suppose his present election one step towards a revival of the great assembly in which he had so long presided. But no one of the court party dared propose to offer him, according to ancient custom, to the acceptance of the chief magistrate, and so, in the presence of this parliament, for the first time since his inauguration, tumbled down the lord protector's claim to all the privileges of royalty.

A more significant movement followed. On the second day Bradshaw, to the amazement and alarm of the court, moved that they should form themselves into a committee of the whole house, to deliberate on the question, whether the house should approve of the system of government by a single person and a parliament. A fierce debate followed, in which it was repeatedly asked why the members of the long parliament then present, should not resume the authority of which they had been illegally deprived by force, and by what right, but that of the sword, one man presumed to "command his commanders;" and, ultimately, the motion was carried by a majority of *five*. Cromwell's excitement became extreme. He was but little composed by the assurance that many of those who voted in

the majority, had not objected to the authority of the protector, but to the source from which it emanated — a written instrument, the author of which was unknown; and rather wished it to be settled on him by act of parliament.*

Bradshaw and his friends, meanwhile, moved forward unflinchingly. For four successive days, the 7th, the 8th, the 9th, and the 11th of September, the committee remained in discussion on this question; the debates were in the highest degree animated; and the house sat late each day. Bradshaw, Haselrig, and Scot, eminently, on all these days, distinguished themselves; and, Ludlow informs us, “were very instrumental in opening the eyes of many young members, who had never before heard the public interest so clearly stated and asserted; so that the commonwealth party increased every day, and that of the sword lost ground proportionally.” One “noble gentleman,” we further ascertain, made a speech, in which he said, that the snares that were laid to entrap the liberties of the people were such, as it was impossible to mistake; but that, for his own part, as God had made him instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one person, so he could not endure to see the nation’s rights ready to be shackled by another, whose claim to the government could be measured no otherwise than by the length of his sword.

The arguments on both sides in this very famous discussion, have been happily preserved for us in the rough heads of Goddard’s diary†, and may be briefly arranged and summed up thus. The protector’s party insisted that the government of the commonwealth was to be admitted entire, such as it had been established in the preceding December; and the other party asserted the paramount authority of the parliament, and that nothing was to be admitted as of validity that had not the sanction of the national representatives. The court retorted, under the instructions of their master that, since it had been approved by the people, the only

* Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 606.

† See the Burton Diary—Introduction.

real source of power, it could not be subject to revision by the representatives of the people! Not so, rejoined even the most moderate members in opposition. Waving the question of ascendancy, and Cromwell's title to assume it, they still objected to the language of the instrument, and said that, instead of affirming that "the supreme legislative authority shall be in one person, and the people assembled in parliament," it ought to be, "in the parliament of the people of England, and a single person qualified with such instructions as that assembly should authorise." Upon this the court fled from the "right" and took up the "expedient." They obscurely threatened. With whatever fair speeches, they said, the protector had opened the parliament, it could not be expected that he would divest himself of his authority, and that it would therefore be their wisdom cheerfully to yield, what it was not in their power to withhold. They added, that the co-ordinate power of legislation given him by the instrument was merely a negative *pro tempore*, extending to a term of twenty days only; and that a milder prerogative than this it was impossible to devise. They dwelt with emphatical commendation upon the article which limited the sitting of parliament to a period of five months, and indulged in terms of bitter reproach against that feature of the government of the long parliament, in which they had shown themselves disposed to prolong their authority without limitation. Such a usurpation should be carefully provided against in future! *

Whilst the argument rested thus, judge Matthew Hale went down to the house on the fourth day to endeavour to effect a compromise.† He proposed, that the legislative authority should be affirmed to be in the parliament of the people of England, and a single person qualified with such instructions as that assembly should authorise in the manner suggested by the republicans. But, to render this palatable to the execu-

* Godwin, vol. iv. p. 118.

† This was first disclosed in Goddard's Diary (introduction to Burton's); and see also Godwin, vol. iv. p. 119, 120.

tive magistrate, and practicable under the circumstances, he recommended that the military power for the present should be unequivocally given to the protector; and, to avoid the perpetuity of parliament, and other exorbitances in their claims of supremacy, that that officer should be allowed such a co-ordination as might serve for a check in those points.

The conduct of the republicans at this crisis deserves especial attention. It is their final and ample vindication from the favourite charges with which history is so rife against them. They had chosen, on the issue of writs for this parliament, to depart from the sterner principle of their great associate sir Henry Vane—who refused even to answer to the authority of the protectorate as a thing under which no good could be achieved for liberty—and to offer themselves for selection by the people. The electors of Buckinghamshire at once returned Scot, those of Cheshire Bradshaw, those of Newcastle on Tyne sir Arthur Harding, and those of Durham Robert Lilburne. These were all large and eminent constituencies, and altogether by such indeed were the chief portion of the republicans returned. Having taken this step, they resolved to work it out fairly to its results. They showed themselves neither headlong, nor pragmatistical, but able and most practical politicians. Waiving their sense of the superior force and virtue of a republic they conceded the argument of the court that power might be delegated profitably to a single person. But if this is so, they said, we must control his resources for mischief, and make him indeed the servant of the people, and the laws. We are not here now for the support of our own visionary theories, but we stand for the substance of solid justice, and we will have it. Fair play to the protectorate must imply fair play to the people, or it is based upon a lie. We will make any concessions on that principle, in the faith that so long as the popular voice is heard, and its influence acknowledged, the people will eventually be able to right

themselves and their cause. They agreed to the compromise proposed by Hale, and stripped off the last pretence from Cromwell. The course now taken by the lord protector sets the final stamp of reprobation on his political career.

On the morning of the 12th of September, having on the previous evening rejected Hale's proposition with scorn, he commanded Lenthall to attend him in Whitehall with the mace ; he at the same time ordered Harrison, whose partisans were in motion for the parliament, to be again taken into close custody * ; he sent for the lord mayor, and despatched three regiments to occupy the principal posts in the city ; he ordered the doors of the house in which the parliament had assembled since its meeting to be locked, and filled the avenues in Palace yard, and Scotland yard, with four companies of foot. At eight o'clock all this had been done ! The members in succession repaired to the place of their sitting, but found themselves excluded, and were told that the protector would speedily arrive at the painted chamber, where he proposed to receive them.

Here he received them accordingly ; and laying aside at once his modesty and his mysticism, addressed them in a vigorous speech. "Gentlemen," he said, "it is not long since I met you in this place, upon an occasion which gave much more content and comfort than this doth. That which I have to say to you now will need no preamble to let me into my discourse ; for the occasion of this meeting is plain enough. I could have wished, with all my heart, there had been no cause for it. At that meeting I did acquaint you what the first rise was of this government which hath called you aither, and in the authority of which you came hither. Among other things that I told you of then, I said you were a *free parliament* ; and so you are, whilst you own the government and authority that called you hither : for certainly that word implied a *reciprocation*, or implied nothing at all. Indeed, there was a

* He was released after a week's detention.

reciprocation implied and expressed, and I think your actions and carriages ought to be suitable ; but I see it will be necessary for me now a little to magnify my office, which I have not been apt to do. I have been of this mind, I have been always of this mind, since first I entered upon it, that if God will not bear it up, let it sink. But if a duty be incumbent upon me to bear my testimony unto it (which in modesty I have hitherto forborne), I am in some measure now necessitated thereunto ; and, therefore, that will be the prologue to my discourse."

He now proceeded to declare frankly, as the grounds on which he made this most extraordinary claim of reciprocation, that his calling was from God, his testimony from the people ; and that no one but God and the people should ever take his office from him. It was not of his seeking : God knew that it was his utmost ambition to lead the life of a country gentleman ; but imperious circumstances had imposed it upon him. I cannot forbear to quote these extraordinary passages, in which he rapidly and in language of very passionate clearness, reviewed the circumstances of his life, and pushed to its very uttermost extreme what seems to have been the most fatal doctrine of his whole career ; that since God had chosen him to be the successful champion of his holy cause, the very honour of the divinity himself had become identified with his own personal advancement, and, *safe in his first condition of grace*, any falsehood or hypocrisy would be pardoned him for the sake of the ulterior advantages which, by their means, he would achieve. There is possibly some distinction from ordinary and mean falsehood in this, so far as a pollution of the mind and heart is implied in it ; but there is no distinction in its wicked results upon the world. It is entitled to consideration as a metaphysical subtlety, and in some explanation of the fact that Oliver Cromwell is very nearly, if not quite, a solitary specimen of a great man who was not also a *true one*.

"I call'd not myself to this place ; I say again, I

call'd not myself to this place ; *of that God is witness* : and I have many witnesses who, I do believe, could readily lay down their lives to bear witness to the truth of that ; that is to say, that I call'd not myself to this place : and being in it, I bear not witness to myself ; but God and the people of these nations have borne testimony to it also. If my calling be from God, and my testimony from the people, God and the people shall take it from me, else I will not part with it. I should be false to the trust that God hath placed in me, and to the interest of the people of these nations, if I should. That I call'd not myself to this place, is my first assertion. That I bear not witness to myself, but have many witnesses, is my second. These are the two things I shall take the liberty to speak more fully to you of. To make plain and clear that which I have said, I must take the liberty to look back. *I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity* ; I have been call'd to several employments in the nation ; to serve in parliament ; and, because I would not be over tedious, I did endeavour to discharge the duty of an honest man in those services, to God and his people's interest, and of the commonwealth ; having, when time was, a competent acceptance in the hearts of men, and some evidences thereof. I resolve not to recite the times, and occasions, and opportunities that have been appointed me by God to serve him in, nor the presence and blessings of God then bearing testimony to me. Having had some occasions to see (together with my brethren and countrymen) a happy period put to our sharp wars and contests with the then common enemy, *I hoped, in a private capacity*, to have reap'd the fruit and benefit, together with my brethren, of our hard labours and hazards ; to wit, *the enjoyment of peace and liberty, and the privileges of a Christian, and of a man, in some equality with others*, according as it should please the Lord to dispense unto me. And when, I say, God had put an

end to our wars, at least brought them to a very hopeful issue, very near an end, after Worcester fight, I came up to London to pay my service and duty to the parliament that then sat ; and hoping that all minds would have been disposed to answer that which seemed to be the mind of God, viz. to give peace and rest to his people, and especially to those who had bled more than others in the carrying on of the military affairs, I was much disappointed of my expectation, for the issue did not prove so. Whatever may be boasted or misrepresented, *it was not so, not so.* I can say, in the simplicity of my soul, I love not, I love not (I declined it in my former speech), I say, I love not to rake into sores, or to discover nakednesses ; that which I drive at is this. I say to you, *I hoped to have had leave to have retired to a private life : I begg'd to be dismiss'd of my charge ; I begg'd it again and again ; and God be judge between me and all men if I lie in this matter.* That I lie not in matter of fact, is known to very many ; but whether I tell a lie in my heart, as labouring to represent to you that which was not upon my heart, I say the Lord be judge ! let uncharitable men, that measure others by themselves, judge as they please. As to the matter of fact, I say it is true. As to the ingenuity and integrity of my heart in that desire, I do appeal, as before, upon the truth of that also. But I could not obtain what my soul longed for. And the plain truth is, I did afterwards apprehend that some did think (my judgment not suiting with theirs) that it could not well be. But this I say to you, was between God and my soul ; between me and that assembly.

“ I confess I am in some strait to say what I could say ; and what is true of what then followed. I pressed the parliament, as a member, to period themselves, once, and again, and again, and ten, nay twenty times over. I told them (for I knew it better than any one man in the parliament could know it, because of my manner of life which was to run up and down the nation, and so

might see and know the temper and spirits of all men, the best of men) *that the nation loathed their sitting : I knew it.* And so far as I could discern, when they were dissolved, there was not so much as the barking of a dog, or any general *and visible* repining at it. You are not a few here present that can assert this as well as myself. And that there was high cause for their dissolution, is most evident, not only in regard there was a just fear of that parliament's perpetuating themselves, but because it was their design. And had not their heels been trod upon by importunities from abroad, even to threats, *I believe there would never have been thoughts of rising, or of going out of that room to the world's end !* I myself was sounded, and by no mean persons tempted, and addresses were made to me to that very end, that it might have been thus perpetuated : that the vacant places might be supplied by new elections, and so continue from generation to generation. I have declined, I have declined very much, to open these things to you ; yet having proceeded thus far, I must tell you, that poor men, under this arbitrary power, were driven like flocks of sheep, by forty in a morning, to the confiscation of goods and estates, without any man being able to give a reason that two of them had deserved to forfeit a shilling. I tell you the truth, and my soul ; and many persons whose faces I see in this place, were exceedingly grieved at these things, and knew not which way to help it, but by their mournings, and giving their negatives when occasions served. I have given you but a taste of miscarriages. I am confident you have had opportunities to hear much more of them ; for nothing is more obvious. 'Tis true this will be said, that there was a remedy to put an end to this perpetual parliament endeavoured, by having a future representative. How it was gotten, and by what importunities that was obtained, and how unwillingly yielded unto, is well known. What was this remedy ? It was a seeming willingness to have successive parliaments. What was that succession ? It was,

that when one parliament had left their seat, another was to sit down immediately in the room thereof, without any caution to avoid that which was the danger, viz., perpetuating of the same parliaments ; which is a sore now that will ever be running, so long as men are ambitious and troublesome, if a due remedy be not found. So then, what was the business ? It was a conversion from a parliament that should have been, and was perpetual, to a legislative power always sitting : — and so the liberties, and interests, and lives of people, not judged by any certain known laws and power, but by an arbitrary power, which is incident and necessary to parliaments : by an arbitrary power, I say, to make men's estates liable to confiscation, and their persons to imprisonments ; sometimes by laws made after the fact committed ; often by taking the judgment, both in capital and criminal things, to themselves ; who, in former times, were not known to exercise such a judicature."

And thus, he now proceeded to assert, as the long parliament brought their dissolution upon themselves by despotism, so the little parliament by imbecility. On each occasion, he added, he had found himself invested in absolute power with the military, and through them over the three nations. He described what they proposed to do at the dissolution of the Barbone convention, and then continued thus : "I denied it again and again, as God and those persons know not complimentingly, as they also know, and as God knows. I confess, after many arguments, and after the letting of me know that I did not receive any thing that put me into any higher capacity than I was in before ; but that it limited me, and bound my hands to act nothing to the prejudice of these nations without consent of a council, untill the parliament, and then limited by the parliament, as the act of government expresseth ; I did accept it. I might repeat this again to you, if it were needfull ; but I think I need not. *I was arbitrary in power, having the armies in the three*

nations under my command ; and truly not very ill-beloved by them, nor very ill-beloved then by the people, by the good people ; and I believe I should have been more beloved if they had known the truth, as things were before God, and in themselves, and before divers of those gentlemen whom I but now mentioned unto you." But this arbitrary power, he continued, he always desired to be freed from ; and if he had acquiesced in the "instrument" of the protectorate, it was because it made the parliament a check on the protector, and the protector on the parliament ! "The next thing I promised you, wherein I hope I shall not be so long, (though I am sure this occasion does require plainness and freedom) is, that I brought not myself into this condition, as in my own apprehension I did not* ; and that I did not, the things being true

* I have quoted this passage that I may subjoin in a note the admirable and most powerful remarks that are made with evident reference to it by the poet Cowley, in his famous Vision . — "Are we then," asks Cowley, — supposing Cromwell's assertion believed that he had become, by his office in the army, *arbitrary in power*, — "are we so unhappy as to be *conquered by the person whom we hired at a daily rate, like a labourer, to conquer others for us* ? Did we furnish him with arms *only to draw and try upon our enemies, and keep them for ever sheathed in the bowels of his friends* ? Did we fight for liberty against our prince, that we might become slaves to our servant ? The right of conquest can only be exercised upon those against whom the war is declared, and the victory obtained. So that no whole nation can be said to be conquered but by a foreign force. In all civil wars, men are so far from stating the quarrel against their country, that they do it only against a person or party which they really believe, or at least pretend, to be pernicious to it ; neither can there be any just cause for the destruction of a part of the body, but when it is done for the preservation and safety of the whole. 'Tis our country that raises men in the quarrel, our country that arms, our country that pays them, our country that authorises the undertaking, and that distinguishes it from rapine and murder. Lastly, 'tis our country that directs and commands the army, and is indeed their general. *So that to say in civil wars that the prevailing party conquers their country, is to say the country conquers itself.* And if the general only of that party be the conqueror, the army by which he is made so is no less conquered than the army which is beaten, and have as little reason to triumph in that victory, by which they lose both their honour and liberty. So that if Cromwell conquered any party, it was only that against which he was sent, and what that was must appear by his commission." As powerfully and conclusively, though in support of unsound views, does the vigorous hand of Cowley shatter the pretences which Cromwell founds throughout this speech, on the circumstance of authority having fallen to pieces, when he was requested to re- unite it. "The government was broke ; who broke it ? It was dissolved ; who dissolved it ? It was extinguished : who was it but *Cromwell*, who not only put out the light, but cast away even the very snuff of it ? As if a man should murder a whole family, and then possess himself of the whole house, because 't is better that he, than that only rats, should live there !"

which I have told you, I submit it to your judgment, and there shall I leave it, let God do what he pleaseth. The other things I say that I am to speak to you of, are, that *I* have not, nor do not bear witness to myself. I am far from alluding to Him that said so ; yet truth concerning a member of his He will own, though men do not. But I think, if I mistake not, *I have a cloud of witnesses. I think so, let men be as froward as they will.* I have witness within, without, and above."

These witnesses he then summoned forth in order. He had, he said, God for a witness above, and his own conscience for a witness within. Then, for his "cloud of witnesses" without, he had all those who attended when he took the oath of fidelity to the "instrument ;" he had the officers in the army in the three nations, who testified their approbation by their signatures ; the city of London, which feasted him ; the counties, cities, and boroughs, that had sent him addresses ; the judges, magistrates, and sheriffs, who acted by his commission ; and the very men who now stood before him, for they came there in obedience to his writ, and under the express condition that "the persons so chosen should not have power to change the government as settled in one single person and the parliament." He averred to them, finally, that he would not dispute that they were "*a free parliament ;*" free to deliberate for the general welfare ; but added, that there were some things fundamental, from which they were not at liberty to depart. These were four : the government by a single person and a parliament ; that parliaments should be successive, and not attempt to make themselves perpetual ; liberty of conscience, and the vesting of the power of the sword and of the militia in the single person and the parliament. And here he paused for an instant, with a remark on one of these fundamentals — only to show the more clear-sighted of his listeners, though in reality designed to throw dust in their eyes, what little chance there was, in his thorough knowledge of what was right, that he would ever, by any mistake, diverge into it. "Is not

liberty of conscience in religion a fundamental? So long as there is liberty of conscience for the supreme magistrate to exercise his conscience in erecting what form of church government he is satisfied he should set up, why should he not give it to others? *Liberty of conscience is a natural right ; and he that would have it, ought to give it ;* having liberty to settle what he likes for the public. Indeed that hath been one of the vanities of our contest. *Every sect saith, Oh ! give me liberty. But give him it, and, to his power, he will not yield it to any body else.* Where is our ingenuity ! truly that is a thing ought to be very reciprocal."

These fundamentals, he added in conclusion, he had thought so plain, that he had not conceived it necessary that he should require of the members the owning of their call, and the authority which had brought them together, previously to their entering the place of their deliberations. But they had obliged him to come to another conclusion ; and he had accordingly put a stop to their entrance into the parliament house, *and caused a recognition of the government to be prepared, which it would be necessary for every member to sign in the lobby, before he would be allowed to advance farther. The recognition was a simple engagement to be true and faithful to the lord protector and commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and not to consent to an alteration of the government. as it was settled in one person and a parliament.*

The members left the painted chamber confusedly, and again repaired to the door of their own house. They found a guard of soldiers stationed there, and on a table in the adjoining lobby a parchment lying for signatures. An officer of the army had been appointed to take their subscriptions ; and, one by one, as they conformed themselves to this requisition, they were to be allowed to enter. Lenthal, the speaker, at once advanced and signed. Bradshaw, Scot, and Haselrig, with an indignant protest of defiance and scorn, turned their backs on the degrading scene, and were followed by about a hundred men. The rest, either on the spot,

or after some days' inducement from the army and the court, consented to sign the recognition. These amounted to nearly three hundred. Subsequent events showed, however, that they had signed it with a mental reservation.

This parliament now loses its claim to our respect, but, as the reader will find, not altogether to our interest. Before it resumed its deliberations, an ominous occurrence had befallen Cromwell. Among the presents he had received from foreign princes, were six handsome grey Friesland coach horses, from the duke of Oldenburgh. The humour took him one day to dine with Thurloe under the shade of the park, and afterwards to try, with his own hand, the mettle of these horses, "not doubting," observes Ludlow with bitter sarcasm, "but the three pair of animals he was about to drive would prove as tame as the three nations which were ridden by him." The result was curious, and will be best related in the language of the time.

The Dutch ambassadors thus write to their states general: "After the sending away of our letters of last Friday, we were acquainted the next morning, which we heard nothing of the night before, that about that time a mischance happened to the lord protector, which might have been, in all likelihood, very fatal unto him, if God had not wonderfully preserved him. As we are informed, the manner of it was thus: his highness, only accompanied with secretary Thurloe and some few of his gentlemen and servants, went to take the air in Hyde Park, *where he caused some dishes of meat to be brought; where he made his dinner*, and afterwards had a desire to drive the coach himself, having put only the secretary into it, being those six horses which the earl of Oldenburgh had presented unto his highness, who drove pretty handsomely for some time; but at last, *provoking those horses too much with the whip*, they grew unruly, and ran so fast that the postillion could not hold them in; whereby his highness was flung out of the coach-box upon the pole, upon which he lay with his body, and afterwards fell upon the ground. His

foot getting hold in the tackling, he was carried away a good while in that posture, *during which a pistol went off in his pocket* ; but at last he got his foot clear, and so came to escape, the coach passing away without hurting him. He was presently brought home, and let blood ; and, after some rest taken, he is now pretty well again. The secretary, being hurt on his ankle with leaping out of the coach, hath been forced to keep his chamber hitherto, and been unfit for any business ; so that we have not been able to further or expedite any business this week."

A second description, from another of the ambassadors now waiting in London the pleasure of the lord protector, shows the suspicion of falsehood which had begun to attach to whatever Thurloe and the lord protector were concerned in ! " I have not yet any thing to write unto you of my negotiation. It was referred six days ago, *under pretence of an accident* happened to the lord protector and the secretary of state, in a promenade, wherein the first took the place of his coachman ; and, his horses running away with him, he was flung out of the box amongst the horses ; and, if his shoe had not broken or slipped off, the misfortune had been entire. He got off only with some bruises, and was likewise no ways hurt with a pistol that went off in his pocket. During this disorder the secretary of state sat in the coach, who, endeavouring to get out, sprained his foot, which was all the harm that happened to him. Both of them do not forbear to keep their beds, *nor to busy themselves also.*" A third ambassador seems infected with the same mysterious doubts. " No doubt you have heard of the accident happened to the protector, who, being in the park in his coach, got up into the box ; and, his horses being unruly, they flung him out of his throne, and he had like to have been racked alive. *This doth afford matter of speculation to some, and discourses to others. His enemies speak him to be very ill, and his friends, in health.*"

Finally, a mention of the circumstance in two letters of Paris royalists to Charles's court shows the bitter

hopes it had awakened there. One prophesies that as the new protector's first fall had been from a coach, so his second would be from a cart! And a second writes more moderately, thus: "We hear of a misfortune befallen the lord protector for playing the coachman. He had better have sat in his chair in the painted chamber to govern the parliament, which is more pliable to his pleasure, than in the coach-box to govern his coach-horses, which have more courage to put him out of the box than the three hundred members of parliament have to put him out of his chair. 'Est malum omen, et ab animalibus forsan discent exemplum; qui sedit, videat ne cadat.' " *

To the general mass of the English people, this accident neither taught a jest nor a prophecy, but revealed a fact of melancholy significance. The explosion of the pistol in Cromwell's pocket betrayed the dangers which beset him in the midst of all his glory — the haunting sense of insecurity which follows inordinate ambition.† In the incident itself, too, they might have seen at once the headlong desire to purchase relief from overburthened thoughts, and the fantastical tricks he would play to assume the mere power of doing any thing. Cromwell had now forfeited all old claims to envy.

Even his broken parliament — the parliament he had forced under the muskets of his soldiery, the fragment of the *free* assembly he had welcomed on his fortunate

* These various letters will be found in the second volume of Thurloe, p. 652, 653, 674. &c. The court newspapers never alluded to the accident.

† At a subsequent date I find one of the numberless spies employed by Thurloe thus writing to that wily secretary. He is describing one of the presbyterian plots against the protector. "He told me a story, which, if you were a towler, might be of some use to you. We two, discoursing concerning the murdering of his highnes, and I urging the difficulty of it, he told me it was true, indeed, he wore a private coat, as he was informed by a presbyterian minister; but they had a way to pierce it, which was this: — To take some graines of pepper (white the best), and steep them twenty-four hours in the strongest aqua vitæ, and then mix three or four grains with the powder, wherewith a pistoll is charged; and that pistoll will carry levell twice as far as before; and therefore, by consequence, pierce twice as deep. This minister preached before his highnes at Hampton Court; and, being invited to heare his highnes exercise, he asked the boy, that waited on him in his chamber for accomodation, what was the reason his highnes did sweat so much? The boy answered, that he had a close coat under his other clothes, which was the reason his highnes did sweat so much." — *Thurloe*, vol. i. p. 708.

day — had found strength to turn once more against him. If it showed in this, as his partisans asserted, the meanness of the worm, it at least showed no less its desperate vitality ! The first thing it did on reassembling, was to come to a resolution that the “recognition” did not comprehend the whole of the instrument of the 16th of December, but simply the government of the commonwealth by a single person and successive parliaments. Then, a few days after, with a somewhat absurd attempt to maintain what they called the dignity of the house, they converted the whole of Cromwell’s base transaction into a proceeding of their own, coming to a resolution, that “all persons who shall be returned to serve in this parliament, shall, before they are admitted to sit, subscribe the recognition of government” ! Next we find them in committee voting that the supreme legislative authority should reside in a lord protector and parliament ; and, the day following, with a most ridiculous affectation of independence, that Cromwell should be the protector. Then, having determined that essential point, they proceeded to analyse the instrument itself, article by article, and occupied themselves in committee on this business to the 8th of November ! One day they had the important question to vote whether the protectorship was to be hereditary, or for life only, and in what manner, and by what authority, a new protector was to be named ; on another day, whether any law could be made, or tax imposed, for the future, except in parliament ; and in what hands the power of declaring war and making peace was to be vested ! The former question, I should add, had originated chiefly in the accident just described, and which naturally led to a consideration of the probable consequences of the death of Cromwell.

The court party first started the point, and Cromwell had so managed to cajole Lambert with some secret understanding, as is supposed, for a special exception or reservation in his favour, that on the morning of the day appointed for the debate, when all the court de-

pendants had mustered their utmost force, to the amazement of every one, who supposed it the secret aim of Lambert to strike for the protectorate on Cromwell's death, that officer rose, and having detailed in a long and elaborate speech the miseries of an elective, and the merits of an hereditary succession, moved that the office of protector should be limited to the family of Oliver Cromwell, according to the known law of inheritance. A long and very vivid debate followed, and closed, to the alarm and confusion of the court, in a division of two hundred for the elective chief magistracy, and only sixty for the hereditary. It was resolved at the same time that, on the death of the protector, his successor should be chosen by the parliament if it were sitting, and by the council in the absence of parliament.

It is clear that Cromwell, the instant after this vote, took the resolution on which he acted some three months later. He showed no sign of impatience or interference, smiled when the vote was officially communicated to him, and said that the parliament should proceed.

They proceeded accordingly. Cromwell had insisted, the reader will recollect, on four fundamentals, and required that on these a *final negative* on the acts of the legislature should be reserved to him; on all others his power, under his own instrument of government, extended no farther than to suspend for twenty days their decrees from being acknowledged as law. The article concerning these negatives was the next matter taken up, and upon a point which, in its result at least, seemed to realise a farce of much ado about nothing. The opposition party insisted, that the bills upon which the protector should be entitled to this prerogative should be of a sort, containing in them something "contrary to such matters wherein the parliament shall think fit to give a negative to the protector." The court-party urged as an amendment, that the words should be, "contrary to such matters wherein

the single person and the parliament shall declare a negative to be in the single person." * The debate was ardently conducted on both sides, and closed with a majority on the side of the opposition, the numbers being 109 to 85.

Nothing could exceed the apparent distress of the court-party in the house at this vote.† It had, they swore, as far as a vote could do it, deposed the executive magistrate from his office. Lord Broghil declared it was so mortal a wound to the government, that he would willingly have redeemed it with a pound of his blood. Then followed dark threats about the necessity of a dissolution, and at these the majority quailed. Next day the amendment of the court-party was carried without a division ! and, most ridiculous to add, three days after, the negatives were taken into farther consideration ; the friends of the protector were twice left in a minority upon questions of the same import as in the former instance ; and again, on the day following these, a second amendment was carried, reversing a second time the obnoxious vote.

Their subsequent proceedings, which had about as much dignity, and as much annoyance in them, may be briefly described.‡ Having brought their discussions on the act of settlement to a close at last, it was moved by the court-party, that, before the act of settlement was engrossed, a conference should be had with the protector on the subject ; but it was carried against them by a majority of 107 to 95. Then, with a new start of courage, they voted that this bill should be a law, without needing the protector's con-

* Godwin, vol. ii. p. 157.

† It may be explained in some sort, by keeping in mind the doctrine of Cromwell himself, that he was, whatever concessions he might consent to make, solely and exclusively the fountain of all the government that existed, and that the parliament derived its privileges from him and his writ. Taken in this sense, the otherwise very fine distinction between the negative " which the parliament might think fit to give," and that " which the single person and the parliament should declare to be already in existence," becomes clear enough.

‡ In the midst of them, it may be worth while to mention, the death of the famous Selden created much interest among those who recollected and appreciated his noble services to the cause.

sent. Next day, however, they became convinced that they had gone too far, and directed that it should be engrossed, in order to its being presented to him for his consideration and consent. As a sort of set off to this, it was at the same time decided, that unless the protector and parliament should agree to the whole and every part of the bill, it should be void and of no effect.

Void and of no effect the protector had already resolved it should be ! He only waited a good opportunity for the movement he had already projected ; and it soon came.

Having passed various resolutions in revision of the ordinances promulgated before they met, — having canvassed in a most troublesome spirit sundry arrangements of the executive, — having interfered with several assessments which had been thought by Cromwell essential to the public service, — they manifested a decidedly restive spirit in the matter of supplies. This was the opportunity for which Cromwell alone had waited. He summoned the house once more to meet him in the painted chamber. This was on the 22d of January, and not till twelve days later could the term of five months' existence, secured to the parliament under the protectorate, possibly expire. The members went up to the painted chamber, therefore, in the natural expectation of an angry remonstrance, but the still paramount security, that till the 3d of February at least, they should remain a parliament.

Cromwell having saluted them with an expression of displeasure and contempt, at once began his address, which was conceived in the most masterly and subtle spirit of praise and flattery to the people, and of scorn and defiance to them. "GENTLEMEN, — I perceive you are here as the house of parliament, by your speaker, whom I see here, and by your faces, which are, in a great measure, known to me. When I first met you in this room, it was, to my apprehension, the hopefullest day that ever mine eyes saw, as to considerations of

this world : for I did look at (as wrapt up in you, together with myself) the hopes and the happiness of (though not the greatest, yet a very great, and) the best people in the world ; and truly and unfeignedly I thought so. A people that have the highest and the clearest profession among them of the greatest glory, viz. religion ; a people that have been, like other nations, sometimes up and sometimes down in our honour in the world, but yet never so low but we might measure with other nations ; a people that have had a stamp upon them from God ! God having, as it were, summed up all our former glory and honour, in the things that are of glory to nations, in an epitome, within these ten or twelve years last past, so that we knew one another at home, *and are well known abroad.*”

What, he then asked, had they done as a parliament ? He never had played, he never would play, the orator ; and, therefore, he would tell them frankly, they had done nothing. For five months they had passed no bill, had made no address, had held no communication with him. As far as concerned them, he had nothing to do but to pray that God would enlighten their minds, and give a blessing to their labours. But had they then done *nothing* ? Yes : they had encouraged the cavaliers to plot against the commonwealth, and the levellers to intrigue with the cavaliers. By their dissensions they had aided the fanatics to throw the nation into confusion, and by the slowness of their proceedings had compelled the soldiers to live at free quarters on the country. The result, he thus forcibly and eloquently described.

“ There be some trees that will not grow under the shadow of other trees ; there be some that chuse (a man may say so by way of illusion) to thrive under the shadow of other trees. I will tell you what hath thriven, I will not say what you have cherished, under your shadow ; that were too hard. Instead of peace and settlement, instead of mercy and truth being brought together, righteousness and peace kissing each other, by

reconciling the honest people of these nations, and settling the woful distempers that are amongst us, which had been glorious things, and worthy of Christians to have proposed,—weeds and nettles, briars and thorns, have thriven under your shadow. Dissettlement and division, discontent and dissatisfaction, together with real dangers to the whole, have been more multiplied within those five months of your sitting, than in some years before. Foundations have been also laid for the future renewing the troubles of these nations, by all the enemies of it abroad and at home. Let not these words seem too sharp, for they are true as any mathematical demonstrations are or can be. I say, the enemies of the peace of these nations, abroad and at home; the discontented humours throughout these nations, which I think no man will grudge to call by that name, or to make to allude to briars and thorns; *they* have nourished themselves under your shadow.”

He next referred to the question of the protectorship, and said they supposed, no doubt, that he had sought to make it hereditary. With unblushing effrontery, and a faith in his powers of delusion, which constituted in itself a perfect miracle, he told them that *this was not true!*

“ I will not presage what you have been about or doing in all this time, nor do I love to make conjectures; but I must tell you this, that as I undertake this government in the simplicity of my heart, and as before God, and to do the part of an honest man, and to be true to the interest which, in my conscience, is dear to many of you, (though it is not always understood what God in his wisdom may hide from us, as to peace and settlement,) so I can say, that no particular interest, either of myself, estate, honor, or family, are, or have been, prevalent with me to this undertaking. For if you had, upon the old government, offered to me this one, this one thing, (I speak, as thus advised, and before God, as having been to this day of this opinion; and this hath been my constant judgment, well known to many that

hear me speak,)—if this one thing had been inserted — this one thing that the government should have been placed in my family hereditarily — *I would have rejected it!* and I could have done no other, according to my present conscience and light. I will tell you my reason, though I cannot tell what God will do with me, nor you, nor the nation, for throwing away precious opportunities committed to us. This hath been my principle, and I liked it when this government came first to be proposed to me, that it puts us *off* that hereditary way; well looking that as God had declared what government he had delivered over to the Jews, and placed it upon such persons as had been instrumental for the conduct and deliverance of his people, and considering that promise in Isaiah, that God would give rulers as at the first, and judges as at the beginning,—I did not know but that God might begin; and though at present with a most unworthy person, yet, as to the future, it might be, after that manner; and I thought this might usher it in. I am speaking as to my judgment against making it hereditary; to have men chosen for their love to God, and to truth and justice, and not to have it hereditary; for as it is in Ecclesiastes, who knoweth whether he may beget a fool or a wise man, honest or not? Whatever they be, they must come in on that account, because the government is made a patrimony.”

The motive for these desperate assertions was to enable him, after that day's action, to keep a fair appearance before the country; and their sole justification was the end he hoped one day to accomplish in behalf of God and God's people. Hence, he did not scruple to add, in an expression I may not venture to characterise, that he spoke in the fear of the Lord who would not be mocked, and with the satisfaction that his conscience did not belie his assertion. The different revolutions which had happened, he then observed, were attributed to his cunning. How blind were men who would not see the hand of Providence in its merciful dispensations! men, who even ridiculed as visions

of enthusiasm, observations “made by the quickening and teaching Spirit” ! After this, he went at once to the object for which he had summoned the members before them, and to the amazement of his hearers, deliberately argued on the consequences of an immediate dissolution of their authority !

It might be thought, forsooth, that without the aid of parliament, the protectorate could not raise money. He knew better. “I did think, also, for myself, that I am like to meet with difficulties; and that this nation will not, as it is fit it should not, be deluded with *pretexts* of necessity in that great business of raising of money : and were it not that I can make some dilemmas, upon which to resolve some things of my conscience, judgment, and actions, I should sink at the very prospect of my encounters. Some of them are general, some are more special. Supposing this cause, or this business, must be carried on, it is either of God, or of man ; if it be of man, I would I had never touched it with a finger. If I had not had a hope fixed in me that this cause, and this business, is of God, I would many years ago have run from it ; if it be of God, he will bear it up ; if it be of man, it will tumble ; as every thing that hath been of man since the world began hath done. And what are all our histories, and other traditions of actions in former times, but God manifesting himself, that he hath shaken, and tumbled down, and trampled upon, every thing that he hath not planted ? And as this is, so the All-wise God deal with it. If this be of human structure and invention, and if it be an old plotting and contrivance to bring things to this issue, and that they are not the births of Providence, then they will tumble : but if the Lord take pleasure in England, and if he will do us good, *he* is able to bear us up. Let the difficulties be whatsoever they will, we shall, in his strength, be able to encounter with them. *And, bless God, I have been inured to difficulties, and I never found God failing when I trusted in him : I can laugh and sing in my*

heart when I speak of these things to you, or elsewhere. And though some may think it is an hard thing, without parliamentary authority, to raise money upon this nation, yet I have another argument to the good people of this nation, if they would be safe and have no better principle, whether they prefer the having of their will, though it be their destruction, rather than comply with things of NECESSITY? That will excuse me; but I should wrong my native country to suppose this."

Necessity — that was his plea — and if it were answered that the necessity was of his own creation, he should answer — No! *It was of God! It was the consequence of God's providence!* No marvel was it, he added, if men who lived on their masses and service-books, their dead and carnal worship, were strangers to the works of God; but, for those who had been instructed by the Spirit of God, to adopt the same language, and say that *men were the cause of these things, when God had done them*; this, *this*, he solemnly warned them, was more than the Lord would bear! But now he had simply to communicate his determination. They had sat long enough, he thought, for the benefit of England; and now, therefore, he declared them dissolved!

For everything but this his listeners were prepared. They claimed their term of five months by the lord protector's own law. They were answered, that that term was meant to be counted as in the arrangements of military service, by calendar and not lunar months; and that, as the soldiers were paid, so should their existence be measured out. They had no reply to make to this deliberate artifice, but at once to go sullenly to their several homes, and leave their country once again to the absolute despotism of Cromwell.

And an absolute despotism he at once established. The opportune and most natural occurrence of several conspiracies against him after this third dissolution,

formed what he thought would seem to be a sufficient motive, and most certainly prove a more than sufficient defence !

The conspiracies exploded from two different quarters — the republican sections of the army, and the royalists of the northern and western counties. The first embraced projects for the surprisal of Cromwell's person, and for the seizure of the castle of Edinburgh, of Hull, Portsmouth, and other places of strength. But spies, paid by Thurloe, were in every regiment ; and no movement occurred that was not previously known to Cromwell. All officers of doubtful fidelity were at once dismissed ; every regiment was purged of its questionable men ; colonel Wildman was surprised in the very act of dictating to his secretary a declaration against the government of a most hostile and inflammatory tendency ; and lord Grey of Groby, colonels Alured, Overton, and others, were arrested, of whom some remained long in severe and infamous confinement, while others were permitted to go at large, on giving security for their peaceable behaviour. The tyrant did not yet dare to bring to the scaffold his old associates of Naseby and Marston Moor.

The royalist plot, though more extensive, proved to be still more harmless. It was headed by Wilmot, just then created earl of Rochester, sir Henry Slingsby, sir Richard Maleverer, and colonel Penruddock ; and, after a moment's occupation of Salisbury, was dispersed by a captain with only a few companies of infantry. The mass of the people were still, as I have before described them, *indifferent*. It is, at the same time, recorded of the inhabitants of Salisbury, in particular, that they were disgusted with the brutal purpose of the royalists (during the momentary occupation) to hang the judges of assize whom they surprised in the town. Of the prisoners, the most distinguished were executed, though they had surrendered the town under regular articles of war. The remainder were sold for slaves to Barbadoes, a favourite policy with Cromwell, pursued first

in his Irish campaigns, and carried on through the whole of the protectorate.*

And now followed a regular and elaborate project of despotism, deliberately planned, and resolutely executed. It was heralded by a few precautionary measures which served to prepare the way for it. These were to forbid all ejected and sequestered clergymen of the church of England to teach as schoolmasters or tutors, or to preach or use the church service as ministers either in public or private; to order all priests belonging to the church of Rome to quit the kingdom under pain of death; to banish all cavaliers and catholics to the distance of twenty miles from the metropolis; to prohibit the publication in print of any news or intelligence without permission from the secretary of state †; and to place in confinement most of the nobility and principal gentry in England, till they could produce bail for their good behaviour and future appearance! Among the first who were apprehended were the earl of Newport; lord Willoughby of Parham, brother-in-law of White-locke; and Geoffry Palmer, at once one of the most eminent and eccentric of the royalist lawyers still residing in England, and whom the restoration afterwards revived. They were committed to the Tower. The earl of Lindsey and lord Lovelace were imprisoned at Banbury. Then followed the arrest of the marquís of Hertford, the earl of Northampton, viscount Falkland, the lords St. John. Petre. Coventry. Maynard. and

*The following sad and significant extract is from a Paris letter of this date. — "Here is nothing more now, but many Irish come from Ireland daily, into the service of prince Condé, with the most sad stories of the English usage to the natives that ever I heard of; *parents taken from their wives and children, and sent into the English plantations: the children starve in wildernesses, and some knocked to death.* It all be true it cannot be the protector will leave it *impunè*" — *Thurloe*, vol. ii. p. 160

† Up to this time, as has been already stated, there were eight weekly newspapers, the majority in favour of the government, but two of them, in a certain degree, hostile to the measures now pursued. "They expressed their opposition, however," as Mr. Godwin very properly remarks, "for the most part in a very subdued style, and had by no means lately broken out into great intemperance." After this ordinance, which destroyed, what remained of the liberty of the press, only the *Mercurius Politicus*, by Marchamont Nedham, and a new one now started, called the *Public Intelligence*, by the same writer, appear to have been published. It is, indeed, not easy to conceive a measure of a more infamous character.

Lucas, and above fifty commoners. The names of earl Rivers, and the earl of Peterborough, were subsequently added.

All this occurred within a few weeks, and was specially and openly designed by Cromwell to break the spirits of men, and to prepare them for what he had in reserve; for, against the majority of the royalists arrested thus, he did not scruple to confess afterwards that he had no specific charge to make. The first part of the great despotic scheme followed rapidly, in the shape of an ordinance, solely levelled against the adherents of the Stuarts. It declared that "all who had ever borne arms for the king, or declared themselves to be of the royal party, should be decimated; that is, pay a tenth part of all the income or estate which they had left, to support the charge which the commonwealth was put to by the unquietness of their temper, and the just cause of jealousy which they had administered." This was an infamous violation of every provision in the act of oblivion, passed with Cromwell's own most strenuous assistance by the statesmen, and an outrage upon every larger provision of natural equity or justice. But it was only the beginning of an end more terrible.

This declared itself, within a few weeks after, by a most comprehensive completion of the scheme of tyranny. While brooding over it, and all the desperate cruelty and injustice it involved, the lord protector found it necessary to vent what he fancied was the real lowliness and submissiveness of his honest and affectionate heart, to his son-in-law, Fleetwood. He sent him accordingly, to his government in Ireland, the following most characteristic letter: "DEAR CHARLES, — I write not often. At once I desire thee to know, I most dearly love thee, and indeed my heart is plaine to thee, as thy heart can well desire; let nothing shake thee in this. *The wretched jealousies that are amongst us, and the spirit of calumny, turn all into gall and wormewood.* My hart is for the people of God; that the Lord knows, and I trust will

(in due time) manifest ; yet thence are my wounds, which, though it grieves me, yet (through the Grace of God) doth not discourage me totally. *Many good men are repining at every thing*, though indeed very many good, well satisfyed and satisfying daily. The will of the Lord will bring forth good in due time. . . *It's reported, that you are to be sent for, and Harry to be Deputy, which truly never entred into my heart. The Lord knows, my desire was for him and his Brother to have liv'd private lives in the Country ;* and Harry knows this very well, and how difficultly I was perswaded to give him his Commission for his present place. This I say was from a simple and sincere heart. *The noyse of my being crown'd, &c. are like malicious figments. . . .* Use this bearer, Mr. Brewster, kindly ; let him be neare you ; indeed he is a very holy able man, trust me, you will find him so ; he was a bosome Friend of Mr. Tillinghamurst, ask him of him, you will thereby know Mr. Tillinghamurst's spirit. This Gentleman brought him to me a little before he died, and Mr. Cradock, Mr. Throughton, a Godly Minister, being by, with himselfe, who cried shame. Dear Charles, my dear love to thee, and to my dear Biddie, who is a joy to my hart, for what I hear of the Lord in her. Bid her be cheerfull and rejoyce in the Lord once and again ; if she knows the Covenant thoroughly she cannot but doe ; for that transaction is, without her, sure and steadfast between the Father and the Mediator in his Blood ; therefore leaning upon the Son, or looking to him, thirsting after him, imbracing him, we are his seed, and the covenant is sure to all the seed ; the compact is for the seed ; God is bound in faithfulness to Christ, and in him to us. The covenant is without us — a transaction between God and Christ — look up to it ! God ingageth in it to pardon us, to write his law on our heart, to plant his fear, that we shall never depart from him. Wee under all our sins and infirmities can dayly offer a perfect Christ, and thus we have peace, and safety, and apprehension of love, from a Father in Covenant, who

cannot deny himself : and truly in this is all my Salvation, and this helps me to bear my great burthens. . . *If you have a mind to come over with your dear Wife, &c. take your best opportunity for the good of the publick and your own convenience.* The Lord bless you all. Pray for me, that the Lord would direct and keep me his servant. I bless the Lord, I am not my own, *but my condition to flesh and blood is very hard.* Pray for me, I do for you all ; commend me to all friends. I rest, your loving Father,
OLIVER P."

Fleetwood accepted the invitation, came over to London, and never returned to his Irish government. His wily father-in-law had merely wished to see him, to effect, by his powers of persuasion, what Fleetwood would have resented with scorn and indignation if attempted in any other way. The real truth was, that Cromwell had already positively resolved that his son Henry should be Irish deputy — an office for which Fleetwood had proved himself incapable — and shortly after Fleetwood's return, Henry proceeded to Ireland !

The consummate ability with which he there administered the government of the protectorate is not a subject for discussion in these pages. As I shall not again return to it, however, it may be as well to show, in a private letter from the protector to his son, the relation of assistance and advice which from this period till Oliver's death subsisted between them. Shortly after his departure, the following letter was despatched to him. It refers to the disaffected, and embodies excellent advice — "moderation and love" to Ludlow and the republicans, caution and detention in the case of Mervin and the royalists.

"SONNE, — I have seen y^r letter writt unto M^r Secretary Thurloe, and doe finde thereby that you are very apprehensive of the carriage of some persons with you, towards yo^rself and the publique affaires. I doe beleve there may be some particular persons, who are not very well pleased wth the present condition of thinges, and may be apt to shew their discontents as they have oppor-

tunitye ; but this should not make too great impressions in you. Tyme and patience may worke them to a better frame of spirit and bring them to see that w^{ch} for the present seemes to be hid from them ; *especially if they shall see yo^r moderation and love towards them, whilst they are found in other ways towards you ;* which I earnestly desier you to studye and endeavour all that lyes in you, whereof both you and I too shall have the comfort, whatsoever the issue and event thereof be. . . . For what you write of more help, I have longe endeavoured it, and shall not be wanting to send you some further addition to the Councell, *as soone as Men can be found out who are fit for y^r trust.* I am alsoe thinkinge of sending over to you a fitt person *who may command the north of Ireland,* w^{ch} I believe stands in great need of one. And I am of y^r opinion that Trev^r and Col. Mervin are very dangerous persons, and may be made the heads of a new Rebellion : and therefore I would have you move the Councell, that they be secured in some very safe place, and the farther out of their own Countyes the better. I commend you to the Lord, and rest your aff^t father,

OLIVER, P."

The ex-governor, Fleetwood, meanwhile, presented himself, with Desborough, as ready tools for the protector's purpose in his great despotic plan. He laid the base of it in the already subsisting old English *militia* arrangements. It was feasible, by their means, he saw, to divide England and Wales, with little trouble, into ten or twelve districts, and to place over the militia of each of these districts an officer, with the name of major-general. This plan was carried on with the utmost secrecy for more than two months, and only openly declared when ripe for execution. It was then announced, by a vote of the protector's council, that the command of militia, in ten districts that were named, should be intrusted to Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambert, Whalley, Goffe, Skippon, colonel James Berry, colonel Thomas Kelsey, colonel William Boteler, and major Charles Worsley. To these were afterwards added Barkstead, lieutenant of the Tower, and admiral Daw-

kins. The districts were, by another vote, apportioned in detail. Fleetwood had the counties of Oxford, Bucks, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridge, being permitted to appoint colonel Henry Haines as his deputy for the four last. Lambert, having received the north of England into his charge, was allowed, as a still greater man than Fleetwood, to appoint colonel Richard Lilburne for the counties of York and Durham, and colonel Charles Howard, afterwards earl of Carlisle, for Cumberland, Westmorland, and Northumberland. His own name was merely reserved to give ornament and dignity to the affair. Whalley had the command of the militia of the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick, and Leicester; Goffe, of Sussex, Hants, and Berks; Skippon, of London; Berry, of Worcester, Hereford, Salop, and North Wales; Kelsey, of Kent and Surrey; Boteler, of Northampton, Bedford, Huntingdon, and Rutland; Worsley, of Chester, Lancaster, and Stafford; Barkstead, of Westminster, and Middlesex; and Dawkins, of Monmouthshire and South Wales.

And what were the ostensible duties of these formidable major-generals? I will first give the substance of their official instructions, and then exhibit their powers in action. They were, according to the former*, first, to endeavour to suppress all tumults, insurrections, rebellions, and all other unlawful assemblies; and, for this purpose, to draw together their forces and troops, and march them to such places as they should judge convenient. Secondly, to take care and give orders that all papists, and others who had been in arms against the parliament, as well as all who were found dangerous to the peace of the nation, should be deprived of their arms, which should be secured in some neighbouring garrison, or otherwise disposed of. Thirdly, every master of a family, or householder, who was considered as disaffected, was to be required to give secu-

* The paper was officially published as "Instructions and orders to the major-generals for preserving the peace of the commonwealth." See Godwin, vol. iv.

rity, by his bond, for the good behaviour of all his menial servants ; the servants being liable to be called to appear before the major-general, or his deputy, at such time and place as either should appoint. Fourthly, an office of register was to be set up in London, where the names of all persons thus giving security were to be entered, together with their residence ; and as often as they changed their abode, this was also to be punctually recorded, and the notice communicated to the major-general of each district, as the case might require. Fifthly, every person, whether foreigner or otherwise, who came from beyond sea, was required, within twenty-four hours after his landing, to appear before the person whom the major-general of the district should appoint in the different ports for that purpose, to deliver his name, and an account of the place from whence he came, and to which he intended to go ; as also, if he came to London, to appear before the registrar there, and give an account of his lodging and his purpose ; all his removals from place to place being to be reciprocally communicated between the registrar in London and the major-generals in the different districts. Sixthly, the major-generals were to take an account of what had been done in execution of the ordinance against insufficient and scandalous ministers and school-masters, to the end that no disaffected persons might be allowed in public teaching, or in the education of youth. To these were added certain articles, with which the instructions were concluded, as to highroads and robberies ; the execution of the laws against drunkenness and blasphemy, and gaming houses and houses of ill fame ; as well as respecting idle and loose persons, who had no visible means of subsistence ; and they granted not only the power to apprehend thieves and robbers, but also to permit no horse-races, cock-fightings, bear-baiting, or stage-plays, within the several counties.

Such was the tenor of the instructions, as openly published in the papers of the time, and designed to convey the idea, as far as it was possible, of a kind of

general rural police and civil regulation. Appended to the commission of each, however, were these ominous words, with Cromwell's signature: "And you are to observe and follow such directions as you shall from time to time receive from ourself." The most essential portion of their instructions was, in truth, altogether secret; and in their subsequent correspondence with the government, as we find it in Thurloe, can we alone discover the whole extent and object of this atrocious despotism.

There we ascertain the plan of assessment, by means of these tools of tyranny, and the parties on whom it was imposed. They were empowered to summon before them any persons whom they should consider as disaffected to the government, or who had no calling, or visible means of subsistence, and require them to give an account of themselves and their property, which they then assessed to the state. They were at the same time authorised to receive information from any other quarters, and, by that means, to correct any attempted misrepresentations of principles. Any disobedience to the major-generals made the offender liable to imprisonment at the pleasure of the protector and council. The royalists, terrified at the extensive arrests and imprisonments which took place among their brethren, and awed by the military preparations which were made to subdue resistance, appear, from all the accounts that are preserved, to have promptly obeyed the summons of these *armed justices*, and for the most part yielded quietly to the assessments which were imposed upon them. There was indeed no hope of redress in any case. The sole appeal was reserved to the protector in council, and all privilege or appeal to the laws, was for ever barred and stopped. The major-generals, therefore, summoned whomsoever they pleased to appear before them as delinquents; and it was fatal to slight their commands. They inquired into every man's estate and income, and assessed it to a tenth of its annual value; if any one endeavoured to clear himself of delinquency,

they assumed the privilege of pronouncing upon the validity of his defence. They sent whom they pleased to prison, and confined them where they pleased ; and it has been remarked, by Mr. Godwin, as one of the general characteristics of Cromwell's government, that those who were judged to be disaffected never succeeded in their endeavours to be set at large in due course of law.*

But one or two individual cases will at once express the general iniquity. Worsley, for example, thus writes to Thurloe from Stafford. "Yesterday we had a meeting at this town, and I have made a good progress in our business. *We have assessed diverse, and the rest must expect it with all speed.* I hope we shall pay our county troop out of what we have done already, *and provide you a considerable sum for other uses.* We have sent out warrants to give notice to the whole county of our day of meeting, when we shall sit upon the ordinance for the ejecting of scandalous ministers. We have disarmed the disaffected in this county. *We shall full of snapping some of our old blades that will not let us be quiet.* We have found an estate of Penraddock's that was executed, and have ordered it to be sequestered. I hope shortly to give you a good account of the rest of the counties." Desborough writes in equal spirits with his infamous work. "Yesterday we proceeded upon taxing seven or eight of this county, amongst whom was sir James Thynn, who was at first a little averse, and did plead as much innocency as my lord Seymour hath done ; *but at last, having no refuge, was constrained to comply ;* and I think of those eight that we have already dealt withal, *the sum will amount to six or seven hundred pounds per annum.* There are four more to appear this morning, and then I intend for Blandford, to attend the Dorsetshire gentlemen, and so to Marlborough, where there are twenty more to be summoned."

The case of Cleaveland, the royalist poet, has been al-

* See Godwin, vol. iv. p. 236. *et seq.*

ready referred to in this work.* He had offended Cromwell in early years, and was one of the first victims to the power of the major-generals in Norwich. Cleaveland was a man of masterly talents, and one of the most popular writers of his time. His works had passed ten editions in about twenty years. He was now living in great poverty, but yet cheerfully submitting to the reverses that had fallen on him only in common with the cause to which his talents had been devoted. He was plotting against no one, harming no one, not even libelling any one; and yet we find in Thurloe's papers the following abominable despatch with the signature of Haynes, and the other commissioners. In "observance to the orders of his highness and council sent unto us, we have this day sent to the garrison of Yarmouth one John Cleaveland of Norwich, late judge advocate at Newark, whom we have deemed to be comprised within the second head. The reasons of judgment are, 1. He confesseth, that about a year since he came from London to the city of Norwich, *and giveth no account of any business he hath there, only he pretends that Edward Cooke, Esquire, maketh use of him to help him in his studies.* 2. Mr. Cleaveland confesseth, that he hath lived in the said Mr. Cooke's house ever since he came to the said city; and that he but seldom went into the city, and never but once into the country; indeed his privacy hath been such, that *none or but few save papists and cavaliers did know, that there was any such person resident in these parts.* 3. For that the place of the said Mr. Cleaveland his abode, viz. the said Mr. Cooke's, is a family of notorious disorder; and where papists, delinquents, and other disaffected persons of the late king's party do often resort more then to any family in the said city or county of Norfolk, as is commonly reported. 4. *Mr. Cleaveland liveth in a genteel garbe; yet he confesseth, that he hath no estate but 20*l.* per annum, allowed by two gentlemen, and 30*l.* per annum by the*

* See my last volume, p. 63. The reader will perhaps correct at the same time a misprint in the passage. For "*at Haynes,*" should be "*under Haynes,*"

said Mr. Cooke. 5. *Mr. Cleaveland is a person of great abilities, and so able to do the greater disservice ; all which we humbly submit."*

At about the same period, Jeremy Taylor, a more illustrious name, suffered the fate of Cleaveland, for his talents, his poverty, and his attachment to royalty. He was flung into prison at Chepstow Castle, in the county of Monmouth. With these cases may close our description, since they will serve to express many hundred others of equal or superior iniquity.

To this condition, then, England was now reduced. After the gallantest fight for liberty that had ever been fought by any nation in the world, she found herself trampled under foot by a military despot. All the vices of old kingly rule were nothing to what was now imposed upon her. Some restraint had still been kept on the worst of her preceding sovereigns ; now she found herself hopeless and helpless, her faith in all that she once held noblest broken, and her spirits unequal to any further struggle. Besides this, there was stealing upon her, in gradual but certain progress, a vile hypocrisy and habit of falsehood, which even good men found it necessary to sanction and endure, that some semblance of the mere pretences of a better nature might still be left to them, were it only to redeem the name of their sad degradation. Let royalty revisit them as speedily as it would, it could bring nothing back for which they might not gladly exchange all that they now endured. What was the innocent and partial tax of ship-money to an all but universal decimation ? What were agonies and mutilations by the star chamber to wholesale murders and executions by high courts of justice ? What was an open profligacy worse than a secret lie ? What the arrest of five members of the house of commons to the utter violation and destruction of every privilege parliament possessed, and even of the very form and name of its rights and its immunities ? The true cause of the death of Charles I. was his resistance to the sacred principle of popular repre-

sensation. He laid down his head upon the block because he broke violently, and in succession, three English parliaments. Oliver Cromwell had now merited, far more richly, that self-same doom ; for he had committed, in circumstances of greater atrocity, the self-same sin. But Charles was weak, and Cromwell strong ; and the people had undergone that worst and most sad recoil from a virtuous and quick-spirited enthusiasm, to the debasing sense of failure, depression, and indifference. Even this last, however, had more hope in it than another sense to which they were now and then roused to give way. This was when they admired their tyrant. Vilest degradation of all was *that* ! He flung some foreign victory among them, as a rattle or a toy, and the whimpering ceased, and they recollected what a great man their lord protector was, and sent up an ill-sung song of praise !

*"The sea's our own" and now all nations greet,
With hending sails, each vessel of our fleet :
Our power extends as far as winds can blow,
Or swelling sails upon the globe may go."*

There may have been some consolation in the fact that the sea was their own, but it would have been a much superior advantage to have had their souls their own. A bad thing becomes worse when covered or gilded thus ; and far better is it to keep the mean and imbecile rapacity of a Stuart to its naked and natural meanness than suffer it to be overshadowed or adorned by the gorgeous tyranny of a Tudor.

I turn, with no feeling of relief or pride, to such brief mention as may become this work, of the foreign policy of the protectorate. France and Spain had continued for some time to rival each other in their mean prostration before the power of Cromwell*,

* So monstrous did this become, that it gave occasion to the most ribald jests in every other part of Europe. The Dutch absolutely struck a medal with the bust of Cromwell and his titles on one side, Britannia on the other, Cromwell thrusting his head in her bosom, with the opposite part of his person ludicrously exposed, while, as the Spanish ambassador stoops to offer it homage, the French ambassador holds him by the arm, and says, "Get you back ! the honour belongs to the king my master !" This medal is still preserved in many Dutch cabinets. Even in Paris pictures were circulated, wherein the English lord protector was sitting in an attitude the most ludicrously gross, with the king of Spain on the one side, and the

that power which he had inherited from the foreign victories of the statesmen, and which had thrown into his hands the balance of Europe. The first question started in these negotiations was the manner in which Cromwell should be addressed. No objection was offered by Spain to the regal claims of the lord protector, but France showed a slight restiveness. Louis' first letter was addressed "To His most Serene Highness Oliver, Lord Protector, &c. &c." This was rejected. Then "Mon Cousin" was offered. This also was refused. The ordinary address between sovereigns, "To our Dear Brother Oliver, &c.," was at last formally demanded. "What!" said Louis to Mazarin, "shall I call such a fellow my brother?" "Aye!" rejoined the crafty Italian, "or your father, to gain your ends." Louis then submitted.*

king of France on the other, offering him paper. And Mazarin received still grave reproaches. See advice to him at the end of the *Memoirs of De Retz*.

* Many letters will be found in Thurloe, referring to this diplomatic dispute. I may quote one or two. De Bourdeaux (the ambassador) thus opens the subject to De Brienne, the French Secretary of State. — "J'ai reçu les deux lettres que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire les 21 et 25 du mois passé, avec celle du roi, dans lesquelles je vois qu'il plaît à S. M. me confier la négociation du traité entre la France et l'Angleterre, avec la qualité d'ambassadeur. J'ai demandé audience au secrétaire du conseil, sous prétexte de lui en faire part, afin de découvrir avec quels termes monsieur le protecteur désireroit que S. M. le traitât. Il ne voulut point s'expliquer autrement, si non que son altesse avoit l'autorité souveraine, et aussi grande que les rois, et que c'étoit à nous d'en user comme nous jugerions à propos. Depuis cette conversation un homme, qui se mêle d'intrigue, m'est venu trouver, et m'a voulu faire entendre, que le terme de frère seroit bien agréable. J'ai donné ordre à mon secrétaire, si l'on lui témoigne désirer le titre de frère, qu'il responde de soi-même, que les pouvoirs m'ont été envoyés, à fin d'avoir un prétexte pour me dispenser de donner cette qualité. Toutes les résolutions d'ici dans les rencontres de la moindre importance se prennent avec grand secret, et la politique est de surprendre." — *Thurloe*, vol. ii. p. 106. In a subsequent letter he says, — "J'infère que S. A. n'est pas contente de ce que je ne suis pas qualifié ambassadeur pres d'elle, and de n'être pas traité de frère le maître des ceremonies ayant averti l'ambassadeur de Portugal de lui donner ce titre." — *Thurloe*, vol. ii. p. 143. A Paris letter to London shows that the matter was generally discussed, and talked of. "The cardinal said yesterday, that your protector is angry that the king of France called him not *mon frère*, brother. He rallied much upon it, and demanded whether his father was ever in France? I hope our protector will make him sing another song before summer be past." — *Thurloe*, vol. ii. p. 159. The protector did make him sing another song, though he seems, by the following extract, to have consented in one interval to a compromise. — "Vous trouverez bon que je vous éclaircisse du doute que je croiois avoir levé par quelqu'une de mes précédentes touchant la suscription des lettres du roy à M. le protecteur. Il a refusé le titre de cousin, et s'est contenté, dans toutes les deux dépeches de celui, de mon-

And it must be confessed, though not for that immediate reason, he gained his ends.* Cromwell, after a

sieur le protecteur de la republique d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse, et Irlande. Celui de frere eut été bien plus agreable."—*Thurloe*, vol. ii. p. 228. Shortly after, the more agreeable "brother" was demanded and conceded.

* Slingsby Bethel, in his *World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell*, makes this part of his foreign policy a grave charge of objection to him; and has been followed by Hume and others. "Cromwell," he says, "contrary to our interest, made an unjust war with Spain, and an impolitic league with France, bringing the first thereby under, and making the latter too great for Christendom; and, by that means, broke the balance betwixt the two crowns of Spain and France, which his predecessors, the long parliament, had always wisely preserved. In this dishonest war with Spain, he pretended and endeavoured to impose a belief on the world, that he had nothing in his eye but the advancement of the protestant cause, and the honour of the nation; but his pretences were either fraudulent, or he was ignorant in foreign affairs (as I am apt to think that he was not guilty of too much knowledge in them); for he that had known any thing of the temper of the popish prelacy, and the French court policies, could not but see that the way to increase or preserve the reformed interest in France, was by rendering the protestants of necessary use to their king; for, that longer than they were so, they could not be free from persecution, and that the way to render them so, was by keeping the balance betwixt Spain and France even, as that which would consequently make them useful to their king: but by overthrowing the balance in his war with Spain, and joining with France, he freed the French king from his fears of Spain, enabled him to subdue all factions at home, and thereby to bring himself into a condition of not standing in need of any of them; and from thence hath proceeded the persecution that hath since been, and still is, in that nation against the reformed there; so that Oliver, instead of advancing the reformed interest, hath, by an error in his politics, been the author of destroying it. The honour and advantage he propounded to this nation in his pulling down of Spain, had as ill a foundation: for, if true, as was said, that we were to have had Ostend and Newport, so well as Dunkirk (when we could get them, they bore no proportion, in any kind, to all the rest of the king of Spain's European dominions, which must necessarily have fallen to the French king's share, because of their joining and nearness to him, and remoteness from us; and the increasing the greatness of so near a neighbour, must have increased our future dangers." But all this was surely to have anticipated a little too rapidly the power and conquests of Louis the Fourteenth, and the maturity of our William the Third. Lord Bolingbroke followed up the charge. "Cromwell either did not discern," says he, "this turn of the balance of power [from Spain to France], or, discerning it, he was induced, by reasons of private interest, to act against the general interest of Europe. Cromwell joined with France against Spain; and though he got Jamaica and Dunkirk, he drove the Spaniards into a necessity of making a peace with France, that has disturbed the peace of the world almost fourscore years, and the consequences of which have well nigh beggared in our times the nation he enslaved in his. There is a tradition—I have heard it from persons who lived in those days, and, I believe, it came from Thurloe—that Cromwell was in treaty with Spain, and ready to turn his arms against France when he died. If this fact was certain, he should have some regret that he died so early. If it were, we must charge the Pyrenean treaty, and the fatal consequences of it, in great measure to his account. The Spaniards abhorred the thought of marrying their Infanta to Louis the Fourteenth. It was on this point that they broke the negotiation Lionne had begun: and if they resumed it afterwards, and offered the marriage they had before rejected, Cromwell's league with France was a principal inducement to this alteration of their resolution." But I may close this note with a subtle remark of bishop Warburton, who, in hitting much closer to the truth, unconsciously exposes, at the same time, what

protracted negotiation, abruptly broke with the Spanish envoy, Don Alonzo Cardenas, who demanded and obtained his passports. Don Alonzo's bait had been the re-conquest of Calais; Mazarin's, the counter temptation of the capture of Dunkirk. It is scarcely probable that Cromwell much cared for either. But it was more convenient to him, and to the safety of his personal power, to be on good terms with so near a neighbour as France, who had already, to oblige him, dismissed from Paris his rival Charles Stuart. And in the colonial possessions of Spain in the new world, he saw an opportunity to make large accessions to the maritime power of England; at the same moment, to dazzle and distract his oppressed countrymen by brilliant episodes of distant conquests, and get conveniently dismissed upon that service officers whose influence and whose principles he feared. The illustrious Blake was the chief of these.

His first demonstration of his policy was accordingly to equip and send out two large armaments; one under Pen and Venables, the other in command of Blake, with the professed purpose of restoring the natural dominion of England on the sea; but whose real and secret destination was to invade the American colonies, and surprise the Plate fleet of Spain, till then supposed by all men to be, and to be held, the most faithful ally of the commonwealth.* The bait took; and the most

was undoubtedly the vice of the protector's foreign, as well as domestic policy; namely, the pursuit of temporary expedients of the brilliant and dashing sort, rather than general principles of the sober and enduring. Thus says the bishop,—"Some modern politicians have affected to think contemptuously of Cromwell's capacity, as if he knew not that true policy required that he should have thrown himself into the lighter balance, which was that of Spain; or, as if he did not know which was become the lighter. But this is talking as if Cromwell had been a lawful hereditary monarch, whom true policy would have thus directed. *But true policy required that the usurper should first take care of himself*, before he busied himself in adjusting the balance of Europe. Now France, by its vicinity, was the most dangerous power to disoblige, as well as by the near relationship of the two royal families of France and England. So that, though Cromwell gave out that which of the two states would give most for his friendship should have it, in order to raise the price, he was certainly determined in himself that France should have it."

* It afterwards appeared to have been argued by Cromwell in his council, to justify the measure, that since America was not named in the treaties of 1604 and 1630, hostilities in America would be no infraction of those treaties (!); that the Spaniards had committed depredations on the Eng-

extraordinary excitement and pleasure was produced in various quarters of England. Preachers declared from their pulpits that the protector intended to destroy Babylon — nothing less than the pope was, abroad, avowed to be his quarry ; and Innocent X., expecting to be attacked in Rome, ordered fortifications to be built round the church of our lady of Loretto, the rich offerings in which were presumed to be the chief object of the heretic adventure !

Meanwhile Pen's fleet, carrying upwards of 4,000 soldiers, had arrived at Barbadoes, where they were instructed to open their sealed orders ; and, opening them, there found instructions to take at once Cuba and Hispaniola. Reinforcements of upwards of 6,000 additional troops awaited them for that purpose, and they instantly set forth. They had scarcely landed at Hispaniola, however, when they fell into an ambuscade, and were obliged to reembark defeated. They made a subsequent descent on the island of Jamaica with better success. This great gain was yet held insufficient to balance the first defeat ; and on the return of Pen and Venables, they were both committed to the Tower.

I may pause for an instant here to notice a sound example of Cromwell's far-seeing sagacity. Though men scouted in that day the acquisition of Jamaica, he saw its value in itself, and its importance in relation to future attempts on the continent of America. Exerting the inhuman power of a despot, — occasionally, as hurricanes and other horrors, necessary for the purification of the world, — he ordered his son Henry to seize on a thousand young girls in Ireland, and send them over to Jamaica*, for the purpose of increasing population

lish commerce in the West Indies, and were consequently liable to reprisals ; that they had gained possession of these countries by force, against the will of the natives, and might, therefore, be justly dispossessed by force ; and, lastly, that the conquest of these transatlantic territories would contribute to spread the light of the gospel among the Indians, and to cramp the resources of popery in Europe. These were but shallow pretexts for concealment of more substantial personal aims.

* I quote from Henry Comwell's answer to Thurloe : — " Sir, — I understand by your last letter, that the transportation of a thousand Irish girls, and the like number of boyes, is resolved on by the councill, but as touch-

there. A year later, and while the Italian Sagredo was in London, he issued an order that all females of disorderly lives should be arrested and shipped for Barbadoes for the like purpose. Twelve hundred were accordingly sent in three ships. "Ho veduto prima," says Sagredo, "del mio partire piu squadre di soldati andar per Londra cercandro donne di allegra vita, imbarcandone 1,200 sopra tre vascelli per tragittarle all' isola, a fine di far propagazione."*

This subject may now be left with the following most able and characteristic letter from Cromwell to major-general Fortescue, whom Venables had left in command of the newly won island; in which the lord protector forcibly explains his views of the proper policy for security and improvement of the conquest.

"Sir,—You will herewith receive instructions for the better carrying on of your business, which is not of small account here, although our discouragements have been many; for which we desire to humble ourselves before the Lord, who hath sorely chastened us. I doe commend, in the midst of others miscarriages, your constancy and faithfulness to your trust, in every where you are, and taking care of a company of poore sheepe left by their shepherds; and be assured, that as that which you have done hath been good in itself, and becoming an honest man, so it hath a very good savour here with all good christians and all true Englishmen, *and will not be forgotten by me, as opportunitie shall serve.* I hope you have long before this time received that good supplye which went from hence in July last, whereby you will perceive, that you have not been forgotten heere. I hope also the ships sent for New England are before this tyme with you; and let me

inge what you write for the charges you wil be at to putt them in an equi-page fitt to be sent (haveinge advised with some persons heer), I know not well what answer to return you to it; but it's thought most adviseable to provide their clothes for them in London, which we thinke you may doe better and at cheaper rates then wee can heer. We shall have, upon the receipt of his highness his pleasure, the number you propound, and more if you think fitt."—*Thurloe*, vol. iv. p. 87.

* A manuscript quoted by Dr. Lingard, vol. ii. p. 260.

tell you, — as an encouragement to you and those with you, to improve the utmost diligence, and to excite your courage in this business, though not to occasion any negligence in presenting that affair, nor to give occasion to slacken any improvement of what the place may afford, — that you will be followed with what necessary supplies, as well for comfortable subsistence, as for your security against the Spaniard, this place may afford or you want. And therefore *study first your securitie by fortifieing*; and although you have not monies for the present, wherewith to do it in such quantities as were to be wished, yet your case being as that of a marchinge army, *wherein every soldier, out of principles of nature, and according to the practice of all discipline, ought to be at the pains to secure the common quarter*, wee hope no man amongst you will be soe wanting to himself, consideringe food is provided for you, as not to be willinge to help to the uttermost therein; and therefore I require you and all with you for the safetie of the whole, that this be made your principal intention. The doinge of this will require, *that you be verie careful not to scatter, till you have begun a securitie in some one place*. Next I desire you, that you would consider how to form such a body of good horse, as may, if the Spaniard should attempt upon you at the next comeing into the Indies with his gallions, be in a readiness to march to hinder his landing, *who will hardly land upon a body of horse*; and if he shall land, *be in a posture to keep the provisions of the country from him, or him from the provisions, if he shall endeavour to march towards you*. Wee trust wee shall furnish you with bridles, saddles, and horse-shoes, and other things necessary for that worke, desiring you to the uttermost to improve what you have already of those sorts. Should it be knowne that you had 500 horse well appointed, ready to march upon all occasions in that island, even that alone might deterre the Spaniard from attempting any thing upon you. Wee have sent commissioners and instructions

into New England, to trye what people may be drawn thence. Wee have done the like to the English windward islands, *and both in England, Scotland, and Ireland, you will have what men and women we can well transport.* Wee thinke, and it is much designed amongst us, to strive with the Spaniard for the mastery of all those seas; and therefore wee could heartily wish, that the island of Providence were in our hands againe, believing that it lyes so advantagiously in reference to the mayne, and especially for the hindrance of the Peru trade and Cartagena, that you would not only have great advantage thereby of intelligence and surprize, but even blocke up the same. It is discoursed here, that if the Spaniard doe attempt you, it is most likely it will be on the east end of the island towards Cuba; as also Cuba upon Cuba is a place easily attempted, *and hath in it a very rich copper mine.* It would be good for the first, as you have opportunity, to informe yourself, and if there be need, to make a good work thereupon, to prevent them; and for the other, and all things of that kinde, wee must leave them to your judgment upon the place, to doe therein as you shall see cause. To conclude, as we have cause to be humbled for the reproof God gave us at *St. Domingo upon the account of our owne sins, as well as others;* soe truly upon the reports brought hither to us of the extreame avarice, pride, and confidence, disorders and debauchedness, profaneness and wickedness, commonly practised amongst the army; wee can not onlie bewail the same, but desire that all with you may doe so, and that a very special regard may be had soe to governe for tyme to come, as that all manner of vice may be thoroughly discountenanced and severely punished, and that such a frame of government may be exercised, that virtue and godlinesse may receive due encouragement."

Meanwhile Blake had triumphantly swept the Mediterranean, cleared that sea of pirates, and successively chastised the deys of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. He

forced from the grand duke of Tuscany a compensation for having some years before countenanced in his port the sale of unlawful English prizes by prince Rupert, and was able to send home, as reparation to the English owners whose goods had been thus sold by his permission, the sum of 60,000*l.* in sixteen vessels. The republic of Genoa thanked the protector by a special embassy for having thus afforded protection and safety to maritime commerce. The Vaivode of Transylvania solicited his aid against the Turks; the king of Poland requested his succour against the growing power of Russia; and the canton of Zurich appealed to him as the natural guardian of protestant states.

This was followed by other triumphs immediately connected with Cromwell's hypocritical pretences, and therefore of the greater service to him. It would not be becoming in this work to enter into any detail of the massacre of the Vaudois in the valleys of Piedmont, or of that general feeling of sympathy aroused in England, and for ever impressed on history by the sublime voice of Milton.

"Avenge, O Lord! thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold,
Ev'n them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipp'd stocks and stones,
Forget not! in thy book record their groans
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, that roll'd
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redouble to the hills, and they
To heaven!"

Cromwell saw at once what a noble policy it would be to avenge these moans, and he did it in a manner which was worthy of the justice and sacredness of the cause. Milton conducted the negotiation. He refused to sign the French treaty with Mazarin, long and painfully protracted as it had been, till he had received what he quietly termed the "*opinion*" of Louis on the subject of the troubles in Piedmont. In vain Bordeaux remonstrated against this new pretext for delay; in vain maintained that the question bore no relation to the matter of the treaty; in vain pro-

tested that the king of France would never interfere with the internal administration of an independent state; and still more vainly held that the duke of Savoy had as good a right to make laws for his protestant subjects as the English government for the catholics of the three kingdoms, and that the Vaudois were in reality rebels who had justly incurred the resentment of their sovereign. Cromwell stood unmoved. Bordeaux applied for an audience to take leave; still the lord protector abated no jot of his demand. The perplexity was ended by sudden intelligence that the duke of Savoy, *at the request of the king of France*, had granted an amnesty to the Vaudois, and confirmed all their ancient privileges; that the boon had been gratefully received; and that the natives of the valleys, protestants and catholics, had met, embraced each other with tears, and sworn to live in perpetual amity together.

Projects respecting the Jews occupied at this period also the mind of Cromwell, but of which it will not be necessary to say more in this work than that, having appointed an assembly of men of various professions, divines, lawyers, and merchants, to take into consideration the expediency of permitting them to trade in England (leave for which had been supplicated by Manasseh Ben Israel, one of their chief rabbis), the general prejudices were discovered to be as yet too strong against that people to allow of their obtaining the liberty desired, or other privileges which Cromwell would gladly have granted them.*

The treaty with France was signed shortly after the

* Thurloe thus writes to Henry Cromwell:—"Wee have had very many disputations concerning the admittance of the Jewes to dwell in this commonwealth; they haveing made an earnest desire to his highnesse to be admitted; whereupon he hath bene pleased to advise with some of the judges, merchants, and divines. The point of conscience hath bene only controverted yet, viz. whether it be lawfull to admitt the Jewes now out of England to returne againe into it. The divines doe very much differ in their judgments about it, some beinge for their admittance upon fittinge cautions, others are in expresse termes against it upon any termes whatsoever. The like difference I finde in the counsell, and soe amongst all Christians abroad. The matter is debated with great candor and ingenuitie, and without any heat. What the issue thereof will be I am not able to tell you; but am apt to thinke that nothing will be done therein."—*Thurloe*, vol. iv. p. 321.

submission of Savoy. It was drawn up in Latin; and on its being observed that Louis styled himself *Rex Gallix*, since there was no longer an English king to claim the silly title, Cromwell objected, insisted on *Rex Gallorum*, and Mazarin at length complied. The chief conditions of this treaty were, that France should indemnify English merchants for injuries to their commerce; that the conquest of Dunkirk should be made for England by their joint forces; and that Charles II., his family, and his court, should be for ever excluded from the French territory. Of the Stuarts, the duke of York only was then in France; and Cromwell, at the request of Mazarin, consented to his being allowed to remain there.* The duke repaid Cromwell for this concession by sending his brother, within a few days after, a deliberate proposition for the murder of the lord protector, accompanied by the last court burlesque. The letter was caught by the ever watchful Thurloe.

"There is a proposition has been made to me which is to long to put in a letter; so that I will, as short as I can, lett you know the heads of them. There are fower Roman Catholiks, that *have bound themselves in a solemn oath to kill Cromwell*, and then to raise all the Catholiks in the Citty and the Army, which they pretend to be a number so considerable, as may give a rise for your recovery, they being all warn'd to be ready for something, that is to be done, without knowing what it is. *They demand ten thousand livres in hand: and when the business is ended, some recompence for themselves ackording to their severall qualities*, and the same liberty for Catholikes in England as the Protestants have in France. *I thought nott fit to reject this propo-*

* Lockhart was sent amoussador to France, where he was treated with peculiar favour. A Paris letter of a later date may describe this: — "They do caress here the lord protector very much, also colonel Lockhart was well dismissed. The lord cardinal presented to him four exceeding fine horses, for the saddle, for the lord protector. The said colonel Lockhart told me himself he never saw such fine horses, and that the lord his master would be mightily pleased with them. He told me likewise that this court had given him good content in all things; so that he went from hence very well satisfied, and thinks to return hither again shortly." — *Thurloe*, vol. v. p. 655.

sition, but to acquaint you with it, because the first parte of the desine seems to me to be *better layd and resolved on, then any I have knowen of that kind*; and for the defects of the second, it may be supply'd by some desines you may have to join to it. *If you aprove of it, one of the fower, intrusted by the rest, will repaire to you*, his charges being borne, and give you a full account of the whole matter. In the mean tyme, he desires, in his owne name and theirs, that you would lett but one or two, whome you most trust, know it, and enjoyne them secrecy. This is all I can say of it at this tyme. I have not much more to say at present, theire being no certaine newse of the treaty with Cromwell, though it is much reported, that it is agreed on, though not sign'd. For my owne busines, my Lord Jermine, *who comes now from speaking with the Cardinall*, will give you an account of it; so that I need not trouble you with it, or the other newes of this place; only this, that *it is so hot wether, that I have been a swimming this afternone, and never found the Water warmer. I send you some songs of the last ballett inclosed with the Gazette burlesque*. This is all I have to trouble you with at present."

Spain had now of course taken measures of extreme hostility, and had even sanctioned a most unnatural plot against the person of the English protector, in connection with a fierce fifth-monarchy republican, colonel Sexby, and the exiled Charles Stuart. The war between the two nations, however, proceeded languidly, without much sympathy on the part of the people generally, and with the decided opposition of the London merchants, whose trade it so seriously interfered with. One incident then suddenly occurred to give to it a temporary brilliancy. Blake (whose stern republicanism always kept Cromwell in fear) had been joined in the command by Montague, and sent in second pursuit of the Spanish Plate fleet. Without military force, however, they found they could not strike the necessary blow at Cadiz or Gibraltar, and therefore, abandoning the attempt, they

sailed to Lisbon ; completed the old treaty by forcing from don John a stipulated payment of 50,000*l.* ; returned to Cadiz ; passed the straits ; insulted the Spaniards in Malaga, the Moors in Sallee ; and after a fruitless cruise of more than two months, anchored a second time in the Tagus. Here it most opportunely and fortunately happened that one of their captains, Stayner, with a squadron of frigates, fell in with a Spanish fleet of eight sail from America. Of these he destroyed four, and captured two, one of which was laden with golden ingots and other treasure. Montague was at once sent home with the prize, valued in his despatch at 200,000*l.* The protectorate prints raised the amount to two millions ; and the friends of Cromwell hailed the event "as a renewed testimony of God's presence, and some witness of his acceptance of the engagement against Spain." To his more servile flatterers it suggested what they knew would be far more welcome to the lord protector. "And now," said Waller,

" returns victorious Montague,
With laurels in his hand, and half Peru.
Let the brave generals divide that bough,
enough ;
for bays,

*Let the rich ore be forthwith melted down,
And the state fixed, by making him a crown ;
With ermine clad, and purple, let him hold
A royal sceptre, made of Spanish gold."*

The same thought was already working in the brain of Cromwell, and might have worked more profitably there had there been more of this Spanish gold. But the truth was, that his treasury, notwithstanding these grateful supplies, notwithstanding all his infamous extortions, was at this instant well nigh exhausted. The equipments of the various fleets had run it out, and, having been forced into contests for the right of levying taxes with some few spirited individuals* in his own courts of law, even he durst not exercise his power of levying while the question was still under judgment. The most

* Besides Cony, Sir Peter Wentworth and others had resisted his assessments in the country.

famous case of this sort was that of a merchant named Cony, who narrowly escaped the glory of another Hampden. He refused the payment of certain custom duties, on the ground of their not being levied by authority of parliament; referred to the opposition of Rolls, Valentine, and Chambers, in a similar case, to Charles I.; and recalled to the memory of Cromwell his own expression in the long parliament,—“that the subject who submits to an illegal impost is more the enemy of his country than the tyrant who imposes it.” Cromwell answered this by committing him to prison for contempt. He claimed his writ of habeas corpus, and retained three of the most eminent lawyers at the bar, Maynard, Twisden, and Wadham Windham, to plead it for him. They did so, and are said to have urged such arguments, and enforced them with such vigour, that, if ceded to, they would have shaken the protectorate to its base. Maynard and his fellow-pleaders were accordingly, the day after these arguments, sent to the Tower, on the charge of having held language destructive to the existing government.

But the case did not end here. The day following, Cony, unsupported by counsel, presented himself at the bar of the upper bench, and urged his own cause with so much power, that Rolle, who presided in the court, was either moved very far towards conviction, or suffered very heavily from shame. He delayed the case for a term, on some formal pretence, gave in his resignation in the interim, and was at once succeeded by Glyn in the chair of the chief justice. Maynard, Twisden, and Windham on their submission were discharged from confinement; and Cony was prevailed upon, by some secret means, which must for ever dishonour a memory that had so nearly become illustrious, to bring his cause no more before the court.

Cromwell was still left, however, in a most difficult position; a position from which the name and the forms of some parliamentary authority could alone, he saw at last, by any possibility rescue him. So hard he found it,

even with such resources as he had called into existence, to subdue utterly a nation which had once been free. Writs were issued for a parliament to meet on the 17th of December, 1656.

Before I proceed to sketch the incidents of that parliament, it may be interesting to supply from the page of Lord Clarendon's history, a view of the power and position of Cromwell, as it now appeared to the view of the royalists. It marks an emphatic lesson in the life of the lord protector, that with all this show of influence and glory, which cannot be altogether in fairness disputed, his real resources should have been to the last degree mean, crippled, and low. There was indeed a ghastly skeleton under the painted face.

"After he was confirmed and invested protector by the humble petition and advice, he consulted with very few upon any action of importance, nor communicated any enterprise he resolved upon with more than those who were to have principal parts in the execution of it; nor with them sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolved, in which he was not rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority; but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

"When he had laid some very extraordinary tax upon the city, one Cony, an eminent fanatic, and one who had heretofore served him very notably, positively refused to pay his part, and loudly dissuaded others from submitting to it, 'as an imposition notoriously against the law and the property of the subject, which all honest men were bound to defend.' Cromwell sent for him, and cajoled him with the memory of 'the old kindness and friendship that had been between them; and that of all men he did not expect this opposition from him, in a matter that was so necessary for the good of the commonwealth.' But it was always his fortune to meet with the most rude and obstinate behaviour from those who had formerly been absolutely governed by him; and they commonly put him in mind

of some expressions and sayings of his own in cases of the like nature: so this man remembered him how great an enemy he had expressed himself to such grievances, and had declared 'that all who submitted to them, and paid illegal taxes, were more to blame, and greater enemies to their country, than they who had imposed them; and that the tyranny of princes could never be grievous but by the tameness and stupidity of the people.' When Cromwell saw that he could not convert him, he told him that 'he had a will as stubborn as his, and he would try which of them two should be master.' Thereupon, with some terms of reproach and contempt, he committed the man to prison; whose courage was nothing abated by it, but, as soon as the term came, he brought his habeas corpus in the King's Bench, which they then called the Upper Bench. Maynard, who was of counsel with the prisoner, demanded his liberty with great confidence, both upon the illegality of the commitment, and the illegality of the imposition, as being laid without any lawful authority. The judges could not maintain or defend either, and enough declared what their sentence would be; and therefore the protector's attorney required a farther delay, to answer what had been urged. Before that day Maynard was committed to the Tower, for presuming to question or make doubt of his authority; and the judges were sent for, and severely reprehended for suffering that licence. When they, with all humility, mentioned the law and magna charta, Cromwell told them, 'Their magna f. . . . should not control his actions, which he knew were for the safety of the commonwealth.' He asked them 'who made them judges? whether they had any authority to sit there but what he gave them? and, if his authority were at an end, they knew well enough what would become of themselves; and therefore advised them to be more tender of that which could only preserve them;' and so dismissed them with caution that they should not

suffer the lawyers 'to prate what it would not become them to hear.'

"Thus he subdued a spirit that had been often troublesome to the most sovereign power, and made Westminster Hall as obedient and subservient to his commands as any of the rest of his quarters. In all other matters, which did not concern the life of his jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, rarely interposing between party and party. As he proceeded with this kind of indignation and haughtiness with those who were refractory, and dared to civilly contend with his greatness, so towards all who complied with his good pleasure, and courted his protection, he used a wonderful generosity and bounty.

"To reduce three nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his dictates ; to awe and govern those nations by an army that was undevoted to him and wished his ruin ; was an instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover which feared him most, France, Spain, or the low countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it. As they did all sacrifice their honour and their interest to his pleasure, so there is nothing he could have demanded that either of them would have denied him. To manifest which there needs only two instances. The first is when those of the Valley of Lucerne had unwarily rebelled against the duke of Savoy, which gave occasion to the pope, and the neighbour princes of Italy, to call and solicit for their extirpation, and their prince positively resolved upon it. Cromwell sent his agent to the duke of Savoy, a prince with whom he had no correspondence or commerce, and so engaged the cardinal, and even terrified the pope himself, without so much as doing any grace to the English Roman catholics, (nothing being more usual than his saying 'that his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia, and that the sound of his cannon should be heard in Rome,') that the duke of Savoy

thought it necessary to restore all that he had taken from them, and did renew all those privileges they had formerly enjoyed, and newly forfeited.

“The other instance of his authority was yet greater and more incredible. In the city of Nismes, which is one of the fairest in the province of Languedoc, and where those of the religion do most abound, there was a great faction at that season, when consuls, who are the chief magistrates, were to be chosen. Those of the reformed religion had the confidence to set up one of themselves for that magistracy, which they of the Roman religion resolved to oppose with all their power. The dissension between them made so much noise, that the intendant of the province, who is the supreme minister in all civil affairs throughout the whole province, went thither to prevent any disorder that might happen. When the day of election came, those of the reformed religion possessed themselves, with many armed men, of the townhouse, where the election was to be made. The magistrates sent to know what their meaning was; to which they answered, ‘they were there to give their voices for the choice of the new consuls, and to be sure that the election should be fairly made.’ The bishop of the city, the intendant of the province, with all the officers of the church, and the present magistrates of the town, went together in their robes to be present at the election, without any suspicion that there would be any force used. When they came near the gate of the townhouse, which was shut, and they supposed would be opened when they came, they within poured out a volley of musket-shot upon them, by which the dean of the church, and two or three of the magistrates of the town, were killed upon the place, and very many others wounded, whereof some died shortly after. In this confusion, the magistrates put themselves into as good a posture to defend themselves as they could, without any purpose of offending the other till they should be better provided; in order to which they sent an express to the court, with a plain relation of the whole

matter of fact, 'and that there appeared to be no manner of combination with those of the reformed religion in other places of the province; but that it was an insolence in those of the place, upon the presumption of their great numbers, which were little inferior to those of the catholics.' The court was glad of the occasion; and resolved that this provocation, in which other places were not involved, and which nobody could excuse, should warrant all kind of severity in that city, even to the pulling down their temples, and expelling many of them for ever out of the city; which, with the execution and forfeiture of many of the principal persons, would be a general mortification to all of the religion in France, with whom they were heartily offended; and a part of the army was forthwith ordered to march towards Nismes, to see this executed with the utmost rigour.

'Those of the religion in the town were quickly sensible into what condition they had brought themselves; and sent, with all possible submission, to the magistrates to excuse themselves, and to impute what had been done to the rashness of particular men, who had no order for what they did. The magistrates answered, that they were glad they were sensible of their miscarriage; but they could say nothing upon the subject till the king's pleasure should be known, to whom they had sent a full relation of all that had passed.' The others very well knew what the king's pleasure would be; and forthwith sent an express, one Moulins, a Scotchman, who had lived many years in that place and in Montpellier, to Cromwell, to desire his protection and interposition. The express made so much haste, and found so good a reception the first hour he came, that Cromwell, after he had received the whole account, bade him 'refresh himself after so long a journey, and he would take such care of his business that, by the time he came to Paris, he should find it despatched;' and that night sent away another messenger to his ambassador Lockhart; who, by the time Moulins came thither, had so far prevailed with the cardinal, that

orders were sent to stop the troops which were upon their march towards Nismes; and, within few days after, Moulins returned with a full pardon and amnesty from the king, under the great seal of France, so fully confirmed with all circumstances that there was never farther mention made of it, but all things passed as if there had never been any such thing; so that nobody can wonder that his memory remains still in those parts, and with those people, in great veneration.

“He would never suffer himself to be denied any thing he ever asked of the cardinal, alleging, ‘that the people would not be otherwise satisfied;’ which the cardinal bore very heavily, and complained of to those with whom he would be free. One day he visited madame Turenne; and, when he took his leave of her, she, according to her custom, besought him to continue gracious to the churches. Whereupon the cardinal told her ‘that he knew not how to behave himself: if he advised the king to punish and suppress their insolence, Cromwell threatened him to join with the Spaniard; and, if he showed any favour to them, at Rome they accounted him an heretic.’”

The excitement at the election for the parliament now summoned exceeded that of any previous occasion. It has been described in this work*, and requires very brief allusion here. Vane re-appeared upon the agitated scene by the publication of his “Healing Question.” He was summoned before the council, and committed to Carisbrook. Bradshaw, Ludlow, and Rich, were also on various pretences, arrested. Bradshaw was removed from his office of chief justice of Chester; Rich was incarcerated in Windsor Castle; and Ludlow, after some detention, discharged on his reluctant concession of bail†. Colonel Okey and vice-admiral Lawrence

* In the memoir of Vane.

† Ludlow has characteristically described his interview with Cromwell and his military satellites on this occasion:—“The next Wednesday after my arrival, about eight in the evening, Cromwell sent a gentleman, one Mr Tenwick, to let me know that he would speak with me. I found him in his bedchamber at Whitehall, and with him major-general Lambert, col. Sydenham, Mr. Walter Strickland, col. Montague, and soon after

were also arrested, and Harrison was sent, with a strong escort, into Pendennis Castle, in Cornwall. The chiefs of the royalists who had shown the smallest activity were at the same time flung into the Tower. But all was vain. The returns showed Cromwell and his council the bitter truth, that the constituencies had once more decided against him. Among the members were Scot and Haselrig; sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who had quarrelled with the protector, and resigned his seat in the council; Maynard, who had resisted him in the case of Cony; Thorpe, one of the judges who had resigned his authority; Chaloner, Chute, Popham, and other decided republicans; sir

came in lieutenant-general Flectwood. . . . He asked me wherefore I would not engage not to act against the present government, telling me, that if Nero were in power, it would be my duty to submit. To which I replied, that I was ready to submit, and could truly say that I knew not of any design against him. But, said I, if providence open a way, and give an opportunity of appearing in behalf of the people, I cannot consent to tie my own hands beforehand, and oblige myself not to lay hold on it. *However, said he, it is not reasonable to suffer one that I distrust to come within my house, till he assure me he will do me no mischief.* I told him I was not accustomed to go to any house, unless I expected to be welcome; neither had I come hither but upon a message from him; and that I desired nothing but a little liberty to breathe in the air, to which I conceived I had an equal right with other men. . . . Then beginning to carry himself more calmly, he said that he had been always ready to do me what good offices he could, and that he wished me as well as he did any one of his council, desiring me to make choice of some place to be in where I might have good air. I assured him that my dissatisfactions were not grounded upon any animosity against his person; and that if my own father were alive, and in his place, they would, I doubted not, be altogether as great. He acknowledged that I had always carried myself fairly and openly to him, and protested that he had never given me just cause to act otherwise. . . . Major-general Lambert then desired to know from me why I could not own this as a lawful government. Because, said I, it seems to me to be in substance a re-establishment of that which we all engaged against, and had with a great expence of blood and treasure abolished. What then, said he, would you account to be a sufficient warrant for you to act against the present authority? I answered, when I might rationally hope to be supported by an authority equal or superior to this, and could be persuaded that the said authority would employ its power for the good of mankind. But who shall be judge of that? said he; for all are ready to say that they do so, and we ourselves think we use the best of our endeavours to that end. I replied that if they did so, their crime was the less, because every man stands obliged to govern himself by the light of his own reason, which rule, with the assistance of God, I was determined to observe. Col. Sydenham said, we might be mistaken in judging that to be a power giving us a just and rational call to act, which may not be so. I told him that we ought to be very careful and circumspect in that particular, and at least be assured of very probable grounds to believe the power under which we engage, to be sufficiently able to protect us in our undertaking; otherwise I should account myself not only guilty of my own blood, but also in some measure of the ruin and destruction of all those that I should induce to engage with me, though the cause were never so just."

Henry Milding, and lord Salisbury. Cromwell took the desperate resolution at once of excluding these and others. The instrument of government vested in the council the power of verifying the regularity of the elections; and Cromwell, extending it into a right to cancel the returns, however regular, at his mere personal discretion, supplied a list of nearly a hundred members immediately obnoxious to him, and including all those I have named, to be excluded for "immorality" or "delinquency"!

Unconscious of this, the new parliament met the protector on the 17th, in the painted chamber; when he addressed them in a long, an obscure, but a most artful speech. It was clear from the first that his sole object was to procure money; and with this view he sought to excite their alarm, and to interest their religious antipathies. He enumerated the enemies of the nation. The first was the Spaniard, the natural adversary of England, because he was the slave of the pope, a child of darkness, and consequently hostile to the light; blinded by superstition, and anxious to put down the things of God; one with whom it was impossible to be at peace, and to whom, in relation to this country, might be applied the words of Scripture, "I will put enmity between thy seed and her seed." There was also Charles Stuart, who, with the aid of the Spaniard and the duke of Nieuburg, had raised a formidable army for the invasion of the island. There were the papists and cavaliers, who had already risen, and were again ready to rise, in favour of Charles Stuart. He mentioned a plot for surprising himself, as he lay in his bed at Whitehall, and another for blowing up the apartment in which he slept, but expressed himself respecting them with contempt. He next assailed the levellers, who had sent an agent to the court of Madrid (colonel Sexby) and the fifth-monarchy men, who sought an union with the levellers against him, "a reconciliation between Herod and Pilate that Christ might be put to death." He afterwards eulogised the good effects which had

arisen from his appointment of the major-generals, which he said had been greatly successful ; first, in suppressing vice and profligacy, and next in establishing an unusual internal tranquillity ! He was earnest in recommending the toleration of all conscientious christians, presbyterians, independents, anabaptists, however they might differ in inferior matters ; applauded the measures that had been adopted for removing scandalous ministers ; urged the public maintenance of a preaching ministry by tithes, or some less exceptionable method ; and a reform of the law, particularly of the criminal law, comprehending a reduction of the number of offences to which capital punishment was awarded, He referred to the prisoners detained in the Isle of Wight, Cornwall, and other places, and said that their detention had been found necessary for the public safety. He then came to the subject of remedies, and, after much circumlocution, he at last stated them to be to prosecute the war abroad, and strengthen the hands of the government at home ; to lose no time in questions of inferior moment, or less urgent necessity, but to inquire into the state of the revenue, and to raise ample supplies. In conclusion, he explained the eighty-fifth psalm, exclaiming, “ If pope, and Spaniard, and devil, and all set themselves against us, though they should compass us about like bees, yet in the name of the Lord we shall destroy them. The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge.”

But, having explained the purpose of this most remarkable harangue, which, to an ordinary reader, would not by any means appear upon its surface, I will present a few of the more striking passages it contained. They possess additional interest, from the circumstance of the speech not having found a place in the compilation of our parliamentary histories. They are in many points expressed with startling force and boldness, in others with unusual obscurity, a kind of unfathomable effort of significance. It is especially curious to mark, however, with what dexterity the few

peculiar merits of his government are brought up to the surface, — to the depression and concealment, not only of their own notorious abuse, but of the fearful accessories by which even their best use was perverted into tyranny. They need no introduction, after the general abstract I have given of the purpose of the speaker.

“ Truly when this insurrection was, & we saw it, in all the roots and grounds of it, we did find out a little from invention, which I hear has been much regretted. I say, there was *a little thing* invented, which was the erecting of your Major Generals, *to have a little inspection upon the people, thus divided, thus discontented, thus dissatisfied*, in divers interests, by the popish party; the Lord Taffe and others; the most, consisting of natural Irish Rebels, and all those Men you have fought against in Ireland, and expelled from thence, as having had a hand in that bloody massacre of those that were under his power; — they should have joined in this excellent business of insurrection. And, upon such rising as that was, truly, I think if ever any thing were justifiable to necessity, and honest in every respect, this was; and I could as soon venture my life with it, as any thing I ever undertook. We did find out, I mean myself and the Council, that if there were need, to have greater forces to carry on this work, it was a most righteous thing to put the charge upon that party, which was the cause of it, and if there be any Man that hath a face looking averse to this, I dare pronounce him to be a man against the interest of England. Upon this account, and upon this ground of necessity, when he saw what game they were upon, and knew individual persons, and of the greatest rank, not a few, engaged in this business; (I knew one man that laid down his life for it, and by letters intercepted, which made it as clear as the day,) we did think it our duty to make them that were in the combination of men, as evident as any thing in the world, equally to bear their share of the Charge, one with another, for the raising of the forces that were so necessary to defend us against those designs. And truly,

if any man be angry at it, *I am plain, and shall use an homely expression, let him turn the Buckle of his Girdle behind him. If this were to be done again, I would do it. . . .* How the Major Generals have behaved themselves in that Work? I hope they are men, as to their persons, of known integrity and fidelity, and Men that have freely adventured their blood and lives, for that Good Cause, (*if it be thought so, and it was well stated, against all the humours and fancies of men*). And, truly, England doth yet receive one day more of lengthening out its tranquillity by that occasion. . . .

“ You see where your war is. It is with the Spaniard. You have peace with all nations, or the most of them, Swede, Dane, Dutch. At present, I say it is well, it is at present so : and so with the Portugal, France, the Mediterranean Sea ; both those states, both Christian and profane. The Mahometans, you have peace with them all. Only with Spain, I say, you have a difference, you have a war. I pray consider it. Do I come to tell you that I would tie you to this War? No. As you shall find your spirits and reasons grounded in what hath been said, so let you & me join in the prosecution of that War, as we are satisfied, and as the cause will appear to our consciences, in the sight of the Lord ; *but if you can come to prosecute it, prosecute it vigorously, or do not do it all. . . .*

“ I have had Petitions, and acknowledgments, and professions, from whole counties ; as from Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and other counties ; acknowledgments that they do but desire they may have liberty and protection in the worshipping of God according to their own Judgments, for the purging of their congregations, and the labouring to attain more purity of faith and repentance ; that in their outward profession they will not strain themselves beyond their own line. I have had those ; I have them to show ; and I confess, I look at that as the blesseddest thing which hath been since the adventuring upon this Government, that these times produce. . . . For my part, I should think I were very treacherous, *if*

I should take away tithes, till I see the legislative power to settle maintenance to them another way; but whoever they be that shall contend to destroy them, that doth as really cut their throats, as it is a drift to take them away, before a way of preparation or other maintenance be had. Truly, I think all such practices and proceedings should be discountenanced. I have heard it from as gracious a Minister as any is in England — I have had it professed, that it would be a far greater satisfaction to them to have it another way, if the State will provide it. . . .

“In my conscience it was a shame to be a Christian, within these fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen years in this nation, either in Cæsar’s house or elsewhere. It was a shame, it was a reproach to a Man; and the badge of Puritan was put upon it. *We would keep up the Nobility and Gentry; and the way to keep them up is, not to suffer them to be Patronizers, nor Countenancers of debauchery or disorders.* And you will hereby be as Labourers in the Work; and a Man may tell us plainly as can be, what becomes us, by our indifferency or lukewarmness, under I know not what weak pretensions, if it lives in us. Therefore, I say, if it be in the General, it is a thing, I am confident, that the liberty and prosperity of this nation depends upon reformation. Make it a shame to see men to be bold in sin and profaneness, and God will bless you. You will be a blessing to the nation; and by this, be more Repairers of breaches than any thing in the World. Truly, these things do respect the souls of Men, and the spirits, which are the Men. *The mind is the Man.* If that be kept pure, a man signifies somewhat, if not, I would very fain see what difference there is betwixt him and a beast. *He hath only some activity to do some more mischief. . . .*

“There are some things which respect the Estates of men, and there is one general grievance in the Nation. *It is the law.* Not that the laws are a grievance, but there are laws that are a grievance, and the great grievance lies in the execution and administration. I

think, I may say it, *I have as eminent Judges in this land, as have been had*, or that the Nation has had for these many years. . . . Truly I could be particular, as to the executive part, to the administration, but that would trouble you. But the truth of it is, there are wicked and abominable laws, that will be in your power to alter. *To hang a man for 6d. 3d.! I know not what! To hang for a trifle, and pardon murder, is in the ministration of the law, through the ill framing of it. I have known, in my experience, abominable murders quitted—and seen Men lose their lives for petty matters!* This is a thing that God will reckon for, and I wish it may not lie upon this nation a day longer than you have an opportunity to give a remedy, and I hope I shall cheerfully join with you in it. This hath been a great grief to many honest hearts and conscientious people, and I hope it is in all your Hearts to rectify it. . . .

“I say it again, the endeavours have been, by those that have been appointed, by those that have been Major-Generals, I can repeat them with comfort, that it hath been effectual for the preservation of your peace. It hath been more effectual towards the discountenancing of vice and settling religion, than any thing done these fifty years. *I will abide it, notwithstanding the envy and slander of foolish men. But I say there hath been a design! I confess I speak that to you with a little vehemency. But you had not that peace two months together.* I profess, I believe it as much as ever I did any thing in the World, and how instrumental they have been to your peace, and for your preservation, by such means, which we say was necessity, than from all instituted things in the world. . . . If you would make Laws against the things that God may dispose, to meet with every thing that may happen, why then make a law in the face of God, and tell God you will meet his dispensations, and you will stay things, whether he will or no. But if you make laws of good government, that Men may know how to obey and do, for Government, you

may make laws that have frailty and weakness, aye, and good laws observed ; *but if nothing should be done, but what is according to law, the throat of the nation may be cut, till we send for some to make a law.* Therefore, certainly, it is a pitiful, beastly notion, to think, **THAT THOUGH IT BE FOR ORDINARY GOVERNMENT TO LIVE BY LAW AND RULE, YET——***Yet to be clamoured at, and blottered at !* When matters of necessity come, inviolably, *then what extraordinary remedies may not be applied ? who can be so pitiful a person ? . . .* I must say, I do not know one action, no, not one, but it hath been in order to the peace and safety of the nation ; and the keeping of some in Prison hath been upon such clear and just grounds, that no Man can except against it. I know there are some imprisoned in the Isle of Wight, Cornwall, and elsewhere, and the cause of their imprisonment was, they were all found acting things that tended to the disturbance of the peace of the nation. . .

“ I beseech you, do not dispute of unnecessary and unprofitable things, that may divert you from carrying on so glorious a work as this is. I think every objection that ariseth, is not to be answered, nor have I time for it. I say, look up to God ; have peace amongst yourselves. Know assuredly, that, if I have interest, *I am by the voice of the people the Supreme Magistrate, and, it may be, know somewhat, that may satisfy my conscience, if I stood in doubt.* But it is an union, really it is an union, *between you and me,* and both of us united in faith and love to Jesus Christ, and to his peculiar interest in the World, that must ground this work ; and in that, if I have any peculiar interest that is personal to myself, that is not subservient to the public end, it were no extravagant thing for me to curse myself, because I know God will curse me, if I have ”

When the lord protector had closed, the members returned to their own house, where they found the door guarded by soldiers, with orders to admit none but such as were provided with a certificate of the approbation of the council, signed by the clerk of the commonwealth.

Upwards of a hundred members were thus, to their amazement and indignation, at once excluded. The rest entered, and elected Widdrington as their speaker. The first business urged, on the following day, was that of the excluded members. They had, the previous evening, drawn up and signed a letter of remonstrance, addressed to the speaker, who read it to the house. It set forth that they whose names were subscribed, having been duly returned to serve with them in parliament, were kept back in the lobby by soldiers; and they now demanded admission to discharge their trust. Upon the reading of this letter, a motion of adjournment was negatived by a majority of 115 to 80; a resolution that the driven out members be referred for redress to the council, and that the house do proceed with the great affairs of the nation, was carried by a majority of 125 to 29. Upon this several members, to show their disapprobation, voluntarily seceded, and those who had been driven out by force published an appeal to the people of England, which showed, in the eloquent language of just indignation, for what excellent reasons such men had been excluded from the subservient and servile business for which the tyrant of England had summoned what he called a parliament. It is more the business of this work to supply the substance of that noble appeal, than to trace the repulsive track of the mean and spiritless members, who continued to crawl before the feet of their master and lord.

It stated—and it bore the signature of a hundred educated and wealthy Englishmen—that when our ancestors in parliament had found oppression and tyranny too strong for them to subdue, they had often made their protestations, and forewarned the people of their danger. The remonstrators referred particularly to a protestation of the third parliament of the late king (March, 1629), in which they had declared that, whoever should advise him to levy tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, should be accounted a capital enemy; and whoever paid the tax, a

betrayers of the liberties of England. They go on to say, that the rumour has doubtless gone through the nation, that a considerable number of the members, chosen by the people to represent them in parliament, have, by force of arms, been excluded from the place of their sitting. But they express their fear, that the slavery, rapines, cruelties, murders, and confusion, comprehended in that one horrid fact, have not been so sensibly discerned, and so much laid to heart, as the case required; and they doubt not but, *as the manner of the man had been, that the name of God and religion, and formal fasts and prayers, will be made use of to colour over the blackness of the deed.*

They proceed, therefore, to remonstrate, that, by the fundamental rights of the nation, the people ought not to be bound by any laws but such as have been freely consented to by their deputies in parliament, and that *by preserving this principle, the good people of England have, beyond the memory of any record, retained their estates, their families, and their lives, which had else been destroyed at the will of every tyrant.* They add, that the parliaments of England, consisting of the people's chosen deputies, have always been, and ought to be, the ordainers and creators of dignities, offices, and authorities, within this nation; and have of right exercised the power of disposing even of the kingly office, and of enlarging or restraining the kingly power; and have questioned, censured, and judged, even the persons of our kings themselves, who have acknowledged their power to be only entrusted to them for the nation's welfare. English kings had feared the people's complaints in parliament, well aware that it was their custom to choose for their deputies the most known champions for their liberties; and none of the kings, in their highest attempts at tyranny, had ever dared to throw aside by force as many of the chosen members as they thought would not serve their ends, till the time of the present protector. But, they observe, the chief magistrate now in office declares that his pro-

clamations shall have the force of laws, and *takes upon himself to be above the people of England*, and to censure the whole or any part, by no other rule than his own pleasure. Doubtless, if he had conquered the nation, he yet could not but know that the right of the people's deputies in parliament would remain good against him, as against a public enemy, unless, by some agreement with the people in parliament, he were admitted to some sort of governing power; nor could he be discharged from the character of a public enemy, by any agreement with a part of the people's deputies, while he shut out another part.

These gallant and high-spirited men conclude, therefore, with protesting, first, that whoever had advised or assisted the protector in excluding a part of the people's deputies, was a capital enemy of the commonwealth; and they quote the instance of judge Tresilian under Richard II., who was executed at Tyburn for advising the king to dissolve the parliament. Secondly, that all such members as should sit, act, and vote, in the name of a parliament, whilst other legal members were shut out, were to be accounted *betrayers of the liberties of England, and adherents to the capital enemies of the commonwealth*.

Nor did these at all belie the description. They had at once passed a resolution declaratory of the justice and policy of the war against Spain, and two acts, by one of which were annulled all claims of Charles Stuart and his family to the crown; while by the other additional safeguards were provided for the person of their chief governor, Oliver Cromwell. With the same unanimity a supply of 400,000*l.* had been voted; but when the means of raising the money came under consideration, a great diversity of opinion prevailed, and, upon this question, even these poor tools of the protectorate did not dare to commit themselves with the country, subdued and distracted as it was beneath the hope of effectual resistance. Some proposed to inquire into the conduct of the treasury; some to adopt improvements in the

collection of the revenue ; others recommended an augmentation of the excise ; and others a more economical system of expenditure. In the discussion of these questions and of private bills, week after week, and month after month, were most unprofitably consumed ; though the time limited by the instrument was passed, still the money bill had made no progress ; and to add to the impatience of Cromwell — who, though he had an important matter of his own to engage him meanwhile, still showed himself impatient — they commenced a series of infamous cruelties and tortures against Fox, Naylor, Biddle, the Quakers, the Unitarians, the Muggletonians, and other strange religious sects that had recently started up.

All this, however, while it added to the protector's impatience, was secretly advancing the protector's design, which, with his more private creatures, had been in discussion and deliberation ever since this parliament assembled. This was no less than the expediency of venturing on a revival of kingship, and assuming for himself the crown. The strongest effect he was yet called on to encounter had been wrought against the protectorate by the gallant remonstrance he had just provoked : every where around him were symptoms of dissolution and change, which it would speedily require some bold and novel course of policy to gather up for even common safety ; his major-generals were hated universally ; the system he had hoped to establish was confessedly a failure ; that very system, however, had prepared the way for any change as some relief ; and some change there must be, sooner or later, since all the designs he held once, in connection with the protectorate, had either been thwarted, or had utterly failed. He now saw, in addition, that the presbyterian and sectarian measures of this parliament — repulsive to the general body of the people — would give him for the moment a fictitious consideration for superior wisdom and gentleness. Having satisfied himself, in any case, that now was the

fit time to strike the blow, he suffered not the delay of another instant.

The first idea he had was to seize the occasion of propitiating the people, still more than in a disapproval of the sectarian cruelties of the parliament, by effecting a dissolution of the powers of the major-generals ! He, therefore, who had called that body into existence ;—who, at the opening of the parliament, had been eloquent in their praise ;—he who had declared that, after his experience of their utility, “ if the thing were undone, he would do it again ; ”—he now not only abandoned them himself, but instructed those over whom he had the greatest influence in the house, to conduct the opposition against them ! He over-reached himself in this, as he afterwards discovered, most egregiously.

The subject was opened in the house, on the question of the legal confirmation of the major-generals, according to a previous wily scheme, by the protector's son-in-law Claypole ; who said, he did but start the game, and must leave it to others more experienced than he to follow in the chace. He should, therefore, only say, that to violate the act of oblivion, as the major-generals and their instructions had invariably done, was a proceeding that should not have his approbation. He had believed, that, in the situation in which the nation then stood, the commission and measures of the major-generals were necessary ; and they ought, therefore, to be indemnified. But to turn such proceedings into a law, was an affair of a very different sort ; nor could he admit that the authority which had been given to these officers, was fit any longer to be continued. The debate which followed was unusually long and obstinate. It continued for ten successive days. Lambert and the major-generals were strenuous in supporting the measure, and Broghill, another close creature of Cromwell's, as strenuously opposed it, and spoke for the instant dispersion of major-generals. So did Whitelocke. At length the protector's desire was even more directly declared. In one of the later

debates a lively youth, colonel Henry Cromwell, grandson of old Sir Oliver Cromwell, and, of course, nephew to the protector, rose, after Boteler, one of the major-generals, had finished his speech in favour of the bill, and replied with great smartness. He observed, that the last speaker, as well as several that had gone before him, had argued that, because some of the cavaliers had done amiss, all ought to be punished. "By the same rule," said this stripling, "I may infer that, because some of the major-generals have done ill, of which I offer to produce proofs, all of them ought to be visited with the censure of this house." Major-general Kelsey, who probably held himself to be particularly aimed at, immediately called the speaker to order, and insisted that he should name the persons whom he charged as offenders. The colonel declared his entire readiness to do so, and that he seconded the proposition of the major-general. It was however determined to put off this question till the end of the debate, that the main business might not be interrupted. A similar scene passed with another member on the following morning, when the major-generals were flattered with comparisons to a set of Turkish bashaws.

Meanwhile it was intimated to young Cromwell that he should repent the attack he had made, and that he would find the protector, his kinsman, greatly offended with his forwardness. The colonel, we are told, thus rebuked, immediately repaired to his highness, and avowed what he had said, holding forth documents in his hands to justify his assertions. Cromwell, in return, reproached him, between jest and earnest, with the rashness of his conduct; and, at the close of the interview, pulled off a rich scarlet cloak he happened to wear, and presented it, with his gloves, to the youth. The next day, Henry Cromwell came down to the house, wearing these tokens of his triumph, to the great satisfaction and delight of some, to the trouble of others *, and to the special mortification of the major-generals, who, by the

* Godwin, vol. iv. p. 329-330. Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 20.

desertion of Cromwell, found themselves subsequently exposed to actions at law for the exercise of those powers which they had accepted in obedience to his command. The result of the debate was to disallow their authority by a majority of 124 to 88. Lambert and Cromwell never afterwards spoke to each other.

The explosion of the Sexby and Syndercombe plot against Cromwell's life now happened so opportunely in furtherance of Cromwell's designs, that it became the general belief afterwards that it had been purposely forced on by Thurloe's spies. A casual mention of the policy of re-establishing "kingship" followed immediately in the house, and was succeeded by a more deliberate and explicit recommendation of it from Mr. Ashe, who, in a brief discussion on the Syndercombe plot, and measures for the greater safety of his highness's person, remarked boldly: — "I would have something else added, which, in my opinion, would tend very much to the preservation of himself and us, and to the quieting of all the designs of our enemies; that his highness would be pleased to take upon him the government according to the ancient constitution, so that the hopes of our enemies and their plots would be at an end."

This suggestion was made on the 19th of January 1657, and seems to have been tolerably well received by several of the members. One of them, indeed, remarked, that he did not know what was meant by the "ancient constitution," if it were not the interest of Charles Stuart, whom he hoped that they did not intend to call back again. He had no wish that Cromwell should be appointed the viceroy of the exiled king, or any such thing. But another, Mr. Robinson, replied, that it was not a matter of merriment: on the contrary, it was one which ought to be seriously weighed. "When," said he, "men pull down their houses that are ruinous, they try awhile, by setting up shrouds, but finding them drop in, they build their houses again. I cannot propound a better expedient for the preservation both of his highness and the people, than by establishing the govern-

ment upon the old and tried foundation, as was moved to you by a grave and well-experienced person." Still there was some startling resistance. One of the orators exclaimed, "Will you make the protector the great est hypocrite in the world?" Yet most serviceable had the hint and its preliminary skirmish proved, since it marked the relative quarters of favour and opposition.

The next incidents in the comedy were an address of congratulation to Cromwell on his escape from assassination, and his own princely entertainment to the various members given at Whitehall. As soon as ever they re-assembled, the grand scheme was fairly broached. Whitelocke had been asked to do it, but warily refused. He readily promised, at the same time, to support it with all his power.

The day was the 23d of February, and as soon as the members were seated, sir Christopher Pack, an alderman, and representative of London, who had been lord mayor¹, called the attention of the house to the unsettled state of the nation; suggested that, as the best remedy, "the lord protector might be desired to assume the title of KING, as the best known and most agreeable kind of government to the English"; and proposed that a bill which he held in his hand should be read. So extraordinary was the sensation when the word KING declared itself at last, that many members rose simultaneously from their seats, and poor Pack was violently borne down to the bar[†]; but, on the restoration of order, he found himself supported by Broghill, Whitelocke, and Glynn, and, with them, by the whole body of the lawyers and the dependents of the court. The paper was ultimately read, after a division on that question in which the party of the protector gained a triumph, carrying with them a majority of 144 to 54. It was entitled, "An humble Address and Remonstrance." It protested

* And is accused, I may subjoin, in *Heath's Chronicle*, with the guilt of embezzling a charitable fund of which he was commissioner, and with having earned his pardon from Cromwell, by the present service. He was afterwards made one of *his Lords*!

† Ludlow.

against the existing form of government, which depended for security on the odious institution of major-generals ; and it provided, in a series of eighteen articles, that the protector should assume a higher title, and govern, as had been done in times past, with the advice of two houses of parliament. After some resolute opposition from the republican officers, among whom Lambert, Desborough, and Fleetwood, made themselves most prominent, a motion that it should be discussed paragraph by paragraph, was carried by 100 to 44. Successive debates at once began.

The opposition of Fleetwood and Desborough occasioned great surprise, but it was accounted for by their natural timidity and still more perhaps by Cromwell's desertion of them in their unpopular and ill-requited service of major-generalship. Lambert's resistance was little wondered at, since Pack's proposition would have raised a lasting barrier between his own notorious ambition, and the means which, with a special promise, as it was said, of assistance from Cromwell himself, he still looked for achieving it. The fact of such an important matter having been put forth without either co-operation and consent from such men as these — the most essential members of Cromwell's own council — shows not only a most passionate desire for it in the breast of the lord protector, but proves that (as the proceedings on the major-generals had led men to suspect) many of the most weighty consultations of the government of the protectorate were not held in the council chamber.

The great author of the plot at the same time professed utter ignorance and unconcern about it ! Strengthened by the opposition of such men as Lambert and Fleetwood, it would seem that on the second or third day of the debate, which was regularly continued on each section of the proposed bill, one hundred of the inferior officers waited on the protector ; to entreat him that he would not listen to the idea of administering the executive government under the proposed new title ; suggesting that it would not be pleasing to the army ; nor to the

godly and pious members of the community ; that it would be hazardous to his own person, and dangerous to the nation ; and was calculated, in the result, to make way for the restoration of the exiled family. In answer to this, while he affected to ridicule or be careless of the title of kingship, he yet disclosed the deep purpose of his soul. He retorted back upon these soldiers many of the vilest passages of their own policy ; he directed their attention to the sort of parliament that had assembled, and asked them if there ought not to be, in the government they had themselves erected, more liberty of control. There was a time when they felt no objection to the title of king ; for the army had offered it to him with the original instrument of government. He had rejected it then, and had no greater love for it now. He had always been the "drudge" of the officers, had done the work which they imposed on him, and had sacrificed his opinion to theirs. If the present parliament had been called, it was in opposition to his individual judgment ; if the bill, which proved so injurious to the major-generals, had been brought into the house, it was contrary to his advice. But the officers had overrated their own strength ; the country called for an end to all arbitrary proceedings ; the punishment of Naylor proved the necessity of a check on the judicial proceedings of the parliament, and that check could only be procured by investing the protector with additional authority ! This speech, however, which has only been recovered within the last eight years, is so remarkable that I here present it to the reader, as it stands in the diary of one who was present.

"His highness returned answer presently to this effect. That the first man that told him of it, was he, the mouth of the officers then present (meaning colonel Mills) ; that, for his part, he had never been at any cabal about the same (hinting by that, the frequent cabals that were against kingship by certain officers). He said, the time was, when they boggled not at the

word (king), for the instrument by which the government now stands, was presented to his highness with the title (king) in it, as some there present could witness, pointing at a principal officer, then in his eye, *and he refused to accept of the title.* But, how it comes to pass that they now startle at that title, they best know. That, for his part, *he loved the title, a feather in a hat, as little as they did.* That they had made him *their drudge*, upon all occasions; to dissolve the Long Parliament, who had contracted evil enough by long sitting; to call a parliament, or convention of their naming, who met; and what did they? Fly at liberty and property! insomuch as if one man had twelve cows, they held another that wanted cows ought to take share with his neighbour! Who could have said any thing was their own, if they had gone on? After their dissolution, how was I pressed by you (said he) for the rooting out of the ministry; nay, rather than fail, to starve them out! A parliament was afterwards called; they sat five months: it is true we hardly heard of them in all that time. They took the instrument into debate, *and they must needs be dissolved;* and yet stood not the instrument in need of mending? *Was not the case hard with me, to be put upon to swear to that which was so hard to be kept?* Some time after that, *you thought* it was necessary to have major-generals; and the first rise to that motion (which was the late general insurrections) was justifiable; *and you, major-generals, did your parts well.* You might have gone on. *Who bid you to go to the house with a bill, and there receive a foil?* After you had exercised this power a while, impatient were you till a parliament was called. I gave my vote against it, but you [were] confident, by your own strength and interest, to get men chosen to your heart's desire. *How you have failed therein, and how much the country hath been disobliged, is well known.* That it is time to come to a settlement, *and lay aside arbitrary proceedings, so unacceptable to the nation.* And by the proceedings of this parliament, you see they stand in need of *a check, or balancing power*

[meaning the house of lords, or a house so constituted], *for the case of James Naylor might happen to be your own case. By their judicial power they fall upon life and member, and doth the instrument enable me to control it ?*" *

This extraordinary harangue, in which we may discover the lord protector's most peculiar and striking mode of dealing with his old brethren in arms, was in a great degree successful. Several of the officers at once "discovered a leaning" to the recommendation of their old general. In conclusion, an arrangement was made, in pursuance of which the measure was allowed to proceed. It was agreed, that the question of the title under which the executive government was to be exercised should be postponed till the last, and that the parliament should come to a vote that no provision in the bill should be regarded as binding till the whole had been gone through. In return for these concessions on the part of the protector, the officers consented that that particular proposition should pass in virtue of which the present chief magistrate should be authorised to name his successor, and the other also which was in favour of the parliament consisting of two houses. The issue of this conference confirmed Cromwell in his resolution of pursuing his purpose to the last.

The officers fulfilled their pledge, and their part of the compact was executed to the letter. The first article of the remonstrance consisted of two propositions: the first praying that Cromwell would hold the office of chief magistrate with the title of king; the second, that

* Sloane MSS. Additions to Aseough. It is now appended to the diary of Banton. One of Cromwell's most remarkable accomplishments in the art of dissimulation, was this power he had, as in the present speech, of accommodating his craft, whether of cajolery, expostulation, or threat, to the various manners and meest habits of thinking of his various victims or dupes. Thus, too, when even the young Quaker must denounce to him the iniquity of war and its upholders, he would be answered with—"It is very good; it is truth: if THOU and I were but an hour of a day together, we should be nearer one to the other." I am reminded of this anecdote by its quotation in the last volume of the "History of the Colonisation of the United States, by George Baneroft;" a work of the deepest interest to any student of the times to which these memoirs have been devoted; and executed in a manner, whether its style or opinions are regarded, that must elevate in general esteem the national literature of America.

he would please, during his life-time, to name the person who should succeed him. The first was postponed; the second was immediately adopted. The second article was, that there should be parliaments once in three years at furthest, to consist of two houses, constituted in such a manner as should hereafter be agreed on and declared. This was voted without a division. The third article prescribed, that the ancient and undoubted privileges of parliament should be preserved and maintained, and that the chief magistrate should not break or interrupt them, nor suffer them to be broken or interrupted; and in particular, that those persons who were legally chosen to represent the people in parliament should not be excluded from sitting but by the judgment and consent of that house of which they were members. This was in a like manner voted, and imposed the necessity on Cromwell, if he continued the present house of commons under the act, to restore the excluded republicans. The fourth article related to the qualifications, either in point of loyalty, or of religion and morality, which should be required of members of the house of commons, and to the number and distribution of members of which that house should consist. The fifth article directed, that the members of the *other house* should be in number not fewer than forty, nor more than seventy; that they should be named by the chief magistrate, and approved by parliament; and that, upon the decease of any one of them, no new member should be admitted to sit but by the consent of the house of which he was to be a member. The sixth article ordered, that no new law should be made, nor old one altered, suspended, or repealed, but by consent of parliament. The seventh article directed, that there should be an annual revenue of one million for the maintenance of the army and navy, and of three hundred thousand pounds for the support of government; that this should not be altered but by consent of parliament; that such other temporary supplies should be granted as the commons might judge necessary; that there should be no land-tax; and that no

charge or impost should be laid on the people but by consent of parliament. The eighth article related to the privy council. The ninth article directed that the great officers of state should be approved by parliament. The tenth and eleventh articles related to religion and toleration, and provided that no persons who acknowledged the doctrine of the Trinity, and the scriptures to be the word of God, should be molested in the freedom of their worship. This liberty was not to be extended to popery and prelacy. There were seven other articles of less importance, on minor matters of detail. All were passed.

The grand article was then discussed, and after two days' debate was carried, that Cromwell should be desired to take on him the government with the title of KING. The numbers were 123 to 62. The day following this, it was resolved to change the title of this instrument from address and remonstrance to that of petition and advice; and it was further determined that, unless the lord protector should be satisfied to give his unreserved consent to the whole, no part of the instrument should be deemed to be of force.

They now took it up to Cromwell in a body, and to their amazement were received with doubts, and uncertainties, and most delicate scruples. Widdrington, as speaker, addressed him in a long speech in commendation of the measure, after which the "petition and advice" was read by the clerk of the house. In reply, the protector observed, that of all the things that had befallen him in his public life, the present offer struck him as being of the greatest magnitude, and most worthy of deliberation; and he therefore demanded from them some short time, to ask counsel of God, and of his own heart, lest his answer should savour more of the flesh, proceed from lust, arise from arguments of self, than from those momentous considerations by which he desired to be governed on such an occasion. The time was granted. Three days after. Cromwell addressed a letter to the speaker, requesting to be attended by a committee of the house, which accordingly waited upon him the next day at Whitehall. To them he

explained himself in faint and unwilling terms, saying, that he had not been able to find it his duty to God and the parliament to undertake the proposed charge *under the title assigned*. His partisans immediately understood the secret of his disclaimer, and moved that the house adhere to the petition and advice they had presented. This resolution was carried immediately after the report of Cromwell's declining the honour intended him. With this vote, they presented themselves once more on the following day, and received this formal answer.

“ That no man could put a greater value than he did, and always should do, upon the desires and advice of the parliament ; readily acknowledging, that it was the advice of the parliament of these three nations.

“ That he looked upon the things advised to, in the general notion of them, as tending to the settlement of the chiefest things that could fall into the hearts of men to desire or endeavour after ; and this, at such a time, when the nation was big with expectation of any thing that might add to their better being ; and, therefore, that he must needs put a very high esteem upon, and have a very reverend opinion of, any thing that came from them ; and that so he hath had of that instrument presented to him, as he had already expressed himself ; and that what he expressed had been from an honest heart toward the parliament and public, which (he said) he spake not to compliment them, being past all consideration of that kind, seeing both himself and the parliament must *be real now, if ever*.

“ That in this business they laid a burden upon a man conscious of his own infirmities and disabilities ; and therefore he hoped that it would be no evil in him to measure their advice and his own infirmities, seeing these would have some influence upon conscience ; conscience in him that receives talents, to know how he might answer the trust of them ; that he hath had, and still hath, such a conscience ; and therefore that when he thought he had had an opportunity, lately, to make an answer, he made that answer ; *being a person that had been before*,

and then, and since, lifting up his heart to God, to know what might be his duty at such a time as this, and upon such an occasion and trial as this was to him.

“That he knew great place, great authority, to be a great burden, and that *he knew a man* who was convinced, in his conscience, that nothing less would enable him to the discharge of it, than assistance from above ; and that it concerned such a person, so convinced and so persuaded, to be right with the Lord in such an undertaking. And that if he undertook any thing not in faith, he might serve them in his own unbelief, and so be the unprofitablest servant that ever a people or a nation had.

“That he desired leave therefore to ask counsel, being ready to render a reason of his own apprehension, which, haply, might be overswayed by better apprehensions. That as to the point of liberty, he acknowledged they had made provisions for it, both spiritual and civil ; the greatest provision that ever was made. That himself desired liberty to vent his own doubts, and his own fears and scruples, though haply in such cases as these were, the world had judged that a man’s conscience ought to know no scruple ; but that his did ; and that he durst not dissemble ; and therefore they who were knowing in the ground of their own actions, would best be able to measure advice to others.

“That there were many things in that instrument besides that one of the name and title of king, which required much information as to his judgment ; and that it was they, and none but they, that could capacitate him to receive satisfaction in them : that otherwise he must say, he was not informed, and so not acted, as he knew they intended he should be, and as every man in the nation should be.

“That he could not tell what other return to make to them than this, that he was ready to give them a reason if they would capacitate him to give it, and themselves to receive it, and to do that in the other things, *if they would inform him a little more particu-*

early than the vote passed yesterday, and now read to him. And that he hoped, when he understood the grounds of those things, the whole being not so much for their good and his own, as for the good of the nation, there would be no doubt but that they might, even in those particulars, find out such things as might answer their duty, his own, and all their duties, to those whom they both served.

“ That this was what, with a great deal of affection, honour, and respect, he offered then unto them.”

The *information* he here asked it was at once resolved should be granted. A committee of the house was named for conference, and to solve the apparent doubts of the protector. This committee consisted of ninety-nine persons, who had voted for the title of king, or were known to be favourable in that essential point to the tenor of the petition and advice. The list included Whalley, Goffe, and Berry, from among the major-generals ; and the name of Waller, who first, as we have seen, publicly suggested the thing, is very properly to be found there too. The speakers in the conference were Glyn, Whitelocke, Fiennes, Lisle, Lenthall, colonel Jones, sir Charles Wolseley, sir Richard Onslow, and lord Broghil. The tenor of their arguments, which were inordinately lengthy, and in which Cromwell himself was perhaps the most lengthy and the most able of all, may be thus given.

- Cromwell proposed to argue the question on the ground of expedience. If the power were the same under a protector, where, he asked, could be the use of a king? The title would offend men, who, by their former services, had earned the right to have even their prejudices respected. Neither was he sure that the re-establishment of royalty might not be a falling off from that cause in which they had engaged, and from that Providence by which they had been so marvelously supported. It was true, that the scripture sanctioned the dignity of king ; but to the testimony of scripture might be opposed “ the visible hand of God,”

who, in the late contest, "had eradicated kingship." It was gravely replied, that protector was a new, king an ancient, title; the first had no definite meaning, the latter was interwoven with all our laws and institutions; the powers of the one were unknown and liable to alteration, those of the other ascertained and limited by the law of custom and the statute law. *The abolition of royalty did not originally enter into the contemplation of parliament* — the objection was to the person, not to the office — it was afterwards effected by a portion only of the representative body; whereas, its restoration was now sought by a greater authority — the whole parliament of the three kingdoms! That restoration was, indeed, necessary, both for his security and theirs; as by law all the acts of a king in possession, but only of a king, were good and valid. Some there were who pretended that king and chief magistrate were synonymous; but no one had yet ventured to substitute one word for the other in the scriptures, where so many covenants, promises, and precepts are annexed to the title of king. Neither could the "visible hand of God" be alleged in the present case; for the visible hand of God had eradicated the government by a single person as clearly as that by a king. Cromwell promised to give due attention to these arguments; *to his confidential friends he owned that his objections were removed*; and, at the same time, to enlighten the ignorance of the public, he ordered a report of the conferences to be published.*

Several days had meanwhile passed, and yet Cromwell still deferred his final and public decision. For the first time perhaps in his life he did not dare to seize what lay within his reach, and was the first and foremost object of his desire. The resolute withdrawal of Lambert he had been prepared for, and would not

* Published they accordingly were in a very thick volume, out of which Dr. Lingard has conveyed the abstract I have availed myself of in the text. The book was called "Monarchy asserted to be the most ancient and legal form of government." At the close of the third day's conference, the protector declared, both to Whitelocke and others, that his scruples were entirely over

care to have contested ; but the continued aversion of Fleetwood and Desborough to his grand design held him fairly at bay. He employed the interval with many of these recusant officers in all his profoundest, his most careless, his most deliberate arts, of laughter, of serious argument, of obscure intimidation, of most accomplished cajolery. He mixed up with exquisite skill in the various efforts, certain casual but powerful arguments deduced from another extensive conspiracy against his life and present power, in which Harrison, Venner, and the fifth-monarchy men had been just engaged. Whitelocke has related to us the style of these strange scenes in a curious passage of his memoirs. "The protector," he says, "often advised about this, and other great businesses, with lord Broghill, Pierrepont, sir Charles Wolseley, Thurloe, and myself ; and would be very cheerful with us, and laying aside his greatness, would be exceeding familiar with us ; and, *by way of diversion, would make verses with us ; and every one must try his fancy. He would commonly call for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, and now and then would take tobacco himself. Then he would fall again to his serious and great business, and advise with us in those affairs ; and this he did often with us.*"

A not less characteristic passage from the memoirs of Ludlow will show the nature of his attempts to overthrow, or moderate, or thrust aside, the scruples of Fleetwood and Desborough. "Knowing that lieutenant-general Fleetwood and colonel Desborough were particularly averse to it, he *invited himself to dine personally with the colonel*, and carried the lieutenant-general with him, where he began to droll with them about monarchy, and speaking slightly of it said it was but a feather in a mun's cap, and therefore wondered that men would not please the children and permit them to enjoy their rattle. But he received from them, as colonel Desborough since told me, such an answer as was not at all suitable to his expectations or desires.

For they assured him, that there was more in this matter than he perceived ; that those who put him upon it were no enemies to Charles Stuart ; and that if he accepted of it, he would infallibly draw ruin on himself and friends. Having thus sounded their inclinations, that he might conclude in the manner he had begun, he told them they were *a couple of scrupulous fellows*, and so departed. The next day he sent a message to the house, to require their attendance in the painted chamber the next morning, designing, as all men believed, *there to declare his acceptance of the crown.** But in the meantime meeting with colonel Desborough, in the great walk of the park, and acquainting him with his resolution, the colonel made answer, that he then gave up the cause and Cromwell's family also for lost ; adding, that though he was resolved never to act against him, yet he would not act for him after that time. So after some other discourse upon the same subject, Desborough went home, and there found colonel Pride, whom Cromwell had knighted with a faggot stick ; and having imparted to him the design of Cromwell to accept the crown, Pride answered, he shall not. Why, said the colonel, how wilt thou hinder it ? To which Pride replied, get me a petition drawn, and I will prevent it. Whereupon they both went to Dr. Owen, and having acquainted him with what had happened, they persuaded him to draw a petition ac-

* This is confirmed by very many authorities. Whitelocke states explicitly, that the protector was satisfied in his private judgment that it was expedient for him to assume the name and authority of king, but, he adds, "by solicitation of the commonwealth's men, and fearing a mutiny and defection of a great body of the army in case he should take that title and office, his mind changed, and many of the officers of the army gave out high threatenings against him if he should do it." The same view of the case is given in a letter, dated at Whitehall, on the 27th of April, and addressed by sir Francis Russell to his son-in-law, the lord Henry Cromwell. "I do in this (letter) desire to take leave of your lordship, for my next is likely to be to the duke of York. Your father begins to come out of the clouds, and it appears to us that he will take the kingly power upon him. That great noise which was made about this business not long since, is almost over, and I cannot think there will be the least combustion about it. This day I have had some discourse with your father about this great business. He is very cheerful, and his troubled thoughts seem to be over. I was told the other day by colonel Pride, that I was for a king, because I hoped that the next would be Henry's turn." Many other letters from Thurloe to Henry express the same thing.

cording to their desires. Whilst this was doing, Cromwell having reflected on his discourse with colonel Desborough, and being informed, that Lambert and divers other officers were dissatisfied with his design, sent a message to put off the meeting in the painted chamber, and to desire that the house would send a committee to confer with him about the great business that was then depending; intending thereby to gain time in which he might be fitting the officers for his design. But the house being risen before his message arrived, and so out of a capacity to appoint any to come to him, the old committee that had been formerly appointed to that end thought fit by virtue of their general instructions, to wait on him to know his pleasure. Accordingly they came to Whitehall, *where they attended about two hours, and then a Barbary horse being brought into the garden for him to see, gave him an occasion to pass through the room where the committee was attending. As he was passing by without taking the least notice of them, one of the messengers put him in mind that they had attended very long, which he slightly excusing, told them, that he thought the houses being risen before his message came to them, had not impowered any persons to him. It was answered, that they came to him upon the general instructions which they had formerly received from the house; upon which he told them, he would send to them some other time.*"

Beneath these careless delays, and apparently indifferent movements of Cromwell, there then lay, could the truth have been unfolded, a bitter agony of pride and mortification of heart beyond any that his worst enemy or victim could have desired to see working within him. A mean and spiritless slave to the vilest passions of over-wrought ambition, he stood there within sight of the glittering bauble * for which he had perilled so much, and yet dared not affect to see it; but would stand gazing on his Barbary horse, or talk of

* Nor, it was said, did this exist in imagination only? Welwood asserts that a crown was actually made and brought to Whitehall.

a toy, or sneer about a rattle, or laugh at a feather in a man's cap, or do any thing to cover the fever of that imbecile passion, incapable of its own desire, which raged in his heart. So to the last he trifled ; and at the last, the republican officers, taking courage from his cowardice, ventured one bold step and dashed down his hopes for ever.

On the very morning of the occurrence Ludlow has last described, Desborough rose in his place, and announced that certain officers of the army attended with a petition. The house voted their admission to the bar, and it was presented by colonel Mason. Cromwell's majority were prepared for a petition in favour of his views. To their surprise and consternation, it set forth, "that the petitioners had hazarded their lives against monarchy, and were still ready to do so ; that they observed some men endeavouring to bring the nation under the old servitude, by pressing their general to take upon him the title of king ; that they humbly desired the house would continue steady to the *good old cause*, in defence of which they (the petitioners), for their parts, were ready to lay down their lives."

The *good old cause* ! When Cromwell heard this, he felt that his hope was gone, and made what merit he could to surrender it with some show of dignity. At once sending for Fleetwood, he expressed much surprise at his not preventing the presentation of such a petition ; especially as, he said, he must know *the crown would never have been accepted by him against the inclinations of the army* ; and he therefore desired him to hasten to the house, and *prevent any proceedings upon the petition*. This office Fleetwood readily undertook ; and without difficulty convinced the members of the impropriety of considering the prayer of the officers, until they had received the protector's answer. A message then arrived from Cromwell, desiring the members, instead of repairing to the painted chamber, to meet him in the banquetting house. They did so ; and there, on the 12th of May 1657, this comedy — a farce it might be better called,

save for its length — closed with a speech of “much embarrassment” from Cromwell, in which he said many things with a reach of hypocrisy that might well embarrass even him.* This is that memorable speech.

“MR. SPEAKER,—I come hither to answer that which was in your last paper to the committee you sent to me, which was in relation to the desires which were offered to me by the house in what they called their petition.

“I confess that business hath put the house, the parliament, to a great deal of trouble, and spent much time.

“I am very sorry for that! It hath cost me some, and some thoughts; and because I have been the unhappy occasion of the expense of so much time, I shall spend little of it now.

“I have, the best I can, resolved the whole business in my thoughts; and I have said so much already in testimony to the whole, that I think I shall not need to repeat any thing that I have said. I think it is a government that, in the aims of it, seeks the settling the nation on a good foot, in relation to civil rights and liberties, which are the rights of the nation: and I hope I shall never be found to be one of them that shall go about to rob the nation of those rights, but serve them what I can to the attaining of them.

“It is also exceeding well provided there, for the safety and security of honest men, in *that great, natural, and religious liberty, which is liberty of conscience*. These are the great fundamentals; and I must bear my testimony to them, as I have and shall do still, so long as God lets me live in this world, that the intentions and the things are very honourable and honest, and the product worthy of a parliament: I have only had the unhappiness, both in my conferences with your committees, and in the best thoughts I could take to

* Dr. Johnson, in his *Life of Waller*, asserts that “Cromwell, after a long conference with a deputation of parliament that was sent to invite him to the crown, refused it; but is said to have fainted in his coach when he parted from them.” I cannot find any authority for this.

myself, not to be convinced of the necessity of that thing that hath been so often insisted on by you ; to wit, the title of king, as in itself so necessary as it seems to be apprehended by you.

“ And yet I do, with all honour and respect to the judgment of a parliament, testify that (*cæteris paribus*) no private judgment is to lie in the balance with the judgment of parliament ; but, in things that respect particular persons, every man that is to give an account to God of his actions, must, in some measure, be able to prove his own work, and to have an approbation, in his own conscience, of that that he is to do, or to forbear : and whilst you are granting others their liberties, surely you will not deny me this ; it being not only a liberty, but a duty (and such a duty as I cannot, without sinning, forbear) to examine in my own heart, and thoughts, and judgment, in every work which I am to set my hand to, or to appear in, or for.

“ I must confess, therefore, that though I do acknowledge all the other, yet I must be a little confident in this. That what with the circumstances that accompany human actions, whether they be circumstances of times or persons, or whether circumstances that relate to the whole, or private, or particular circumstances, that compass any person that is to render an account of his own actions ; I have truly thought and do still think, that if I should, at the best, do any thing on this account to answer your expectation, at the best, I should do it doubtingly ; and, certainly, what is so, is not of faith ; and whatsoever is not so, whatsoever is not of faith is sin to him that doth it, whether it be with relation to the substance of the action about which the consideration is conversant, or whether to circumstances about it, which make all indifferent actions good or evil : I say circumstances ; and truly I mean good or evil to him that doth it.

“ I, lying under this consideration, think it my duty, only I could have wished I had done it sooner, for the sake of the house, who hath laid so infinite obligations

on me ; I wish I had done it sooner, for your sake, and saving time and trouble, and indeed for the committee's sake, to whom I must acknowledge publicly I have been unreasonably troublesome : I say I could have wished I had given it sooner ; but truly this is my answer, that (although I think the government doth consist of very excellent parts, in all but in that one thing the title, as to me,) I should not be an honest man if I should not tell you, that I cannot accept of the government, nor undertake the trouble and charge of it. I have a little more experimented than every body what troubles and difficulties do befall men under such trusts, and in such undertakings. I say I am persuaded to return this answer to you, that I cannot undertake the government with the title of king : and that is my answer to this great and weighty business."

All that could now be achieved was to pass the petition and advice without the title of king. This was done, and, with a few other unimportant amendments, received the protector's sanction. The house at the same time adjourned for six months, to allow the lord protector opportunity for the formation of the *other house*, constituted by this new act. A new and solemn inauguration followed. On a platform, raised at the upper end of Westminster hall, and in front of a magnificent chair of state, stood the protector ; while the speaker, with his assistants, invested him with a purple mantle lined with ermine ; presented to him a bible superbly gilt and embossed ; girt a sword by his side, and placed a sceptre of massive gold in his hand. As soon as the oath had been administered, Manton, his chaplain, pronounced a long and fervent prayer for a blessing on the protector, the parliament, and the people. Rising from prayer, Cromwell seated himself on the right ; at some distance, sate the French, on the left, the Dutch ambassador ; on one side stood the Earl of Warwick, with the sword of the commonwealth, on the other, the lord mayor, with that of the city ; and behind arranged themselves the members of the protector's family, the

lords of the council, and Lisle, Whitelocke, and Montague, each of the three bearing a drawn sword. At a signal given, the trumpets sounded; the heralds proclaimed the style of the new sovereign; and the spectators shouted, 'Long live his highness; God save the lord protector.' He rose immediately, bowed to the ambassadors, and walked in state through the hall to his carriage.*

From this ceremony, apparently so grand and so imposing, may be dated Cromwell's downfall. *He had failed*, and the sole charm which seemed to have sustained him hitherto perished in those words. He had declared, in a manner not to be mistaken, that he thought monarchy the best form of government, and yet he was not suffered to become that monarch. He held the chair of another. Many of his oldest friends and fellow-comrades too, had withdrawn from his side, and he had to look for the familiar faces of Naseby, Dunbar Marston Moor, and Worcester, in the ranks of men who were banded against his life, or — more bitter contemplation — had entered an immortal judgment with posterity against his fame. His mother, whom he deeply venerated, had perished some short time before, unable to live in her continual terror that his life would be taken by assassins.† His most beloved daughter Claypole is said to have already estranged herself from his side where he would have always had her present, on account of the attachment she bore to truth, not less than to many of his

* Dr. Lingard, from Whitelocke's Memorials. But a detailed account, with many points of vivacity and interest, will be seen in Appendix D. I have also given, from the same official hand (Appendix 1st), the account (with some interpolations inserted after the restoration), of the lord protector's funeral.

† Ludlow tells us that "his mother, who, by reason of her great age, was not so easily flattered with temptations, very much mistrusted the issue of affairs, and would be often afraid, when she heard the noise of a musket, that her son was shot, being exceedingly dissatisfied, *unless she might see him once a-day at least* : but she, shortly after dying, left him the possession of what she held in jointure, which was reported not to exceed sixty pounds by year, though he out of the public purse expended much more at her interment in the abbey at Westminster, and, amongst other needless ceremonies, caused many hundred torches to be carried with the hearse, though she was buried by daylight." Instead of this, she had prayed of her son a humble village burial-place.

political enemies. His son Richard, to whom he desired to leave the power for which he had sacrificed so many blessings, was incapable, he feared too well, to hold it for a day. Nor did it seem that he could hope to leave it, for such a feeble hand, better organised than it already was, for his own health was known to be declining. The prospect before this great and most mistaken man, after his second most gorgeous inauguration, was a dreary one indeed. Had the old story of his enemies been true, it could scarcely have left to him fewer hopes of redemption.*

* Echard builds up this most ridiculous story from the romantic fictions of Clement Walker and others, which is yet worth quoting, to show the feeling which was encouraged respecting Cromwell, until within the last century. "We have a strange story in the last part of the History of Independency, which the author says he received from a person of quality, viz 'It was believ'd, and that not without some good cause, that Cromwell, the same morning that he defeated the king's army at Worcester, had conference personally with the devil, with whom he made a contract, that to have his will then, and in all things else for seven years from that day, he shou'd, at the expiration of the said years, have him at his command, to do at his pleasure, both with his soul and body.' This is also related in other printed books; but we have receiv'd a more full account, never yet published, which is here inserted as a thing more wonderful than probable, and therefore more for the diversion than satisfaction of the reader. It is a relation or narrative of a valiant officer call'd Lindsey, an intimate friend of Cromwell's, the first captain of his regiment, and therefore commonly call'd colonel Lindsey; which is to this effect:—On the 3d of September, in the morning, Cromwell took this officer to a wood-side, not far from the army, and bid him alight and follow him into that wood, and to take particular notice of what he saw and heard. After they had both alighted and secur'd their horses, and walked some small way into the wood, Lindsey began to turn pale, and to be seiz'd with horror from some unknown cause, upon which Cromwell ask'd him, how he did, or how he felt himself. He answer'd, that he was in such a trembling and consternation, that he never felt the like in all the conflicts and battels he had been engag'd in; but wether it proceed'd from the gloomness of the place, or the temperament of his body, he knew not. 'How now,' said Cromwell, 'what, troubl'd with vapours? come forwards, man!' They had not gone above twenty yards, before Lindsey on a sudden stood still, and cry'd out, by all that's good, he was seiz'd with such unaccountable terror and astonishment, that it was impossible for him to stir one step further. Upon which Cromwell call'd him faint-hearted fool, and bid him stand there and observe, or be witness; and then advancing to some distance from him, he met with a grave elderly man with a roll of parchment in his hand, who deliver'd it to Cromwell, who eagerly perus'd it. Lindsey, a little recover'd from his fear, heard several loud words between them; particularly Cromwell said, 'This is but for seven years, I was to have had it for one-and-twenty, and it must and shall be so.' The other told him positively, it cou'd not be for above seven; upon which Cromwell cry'd with great fierceness, it shou'd however be for fourteen years. But the other peremptorily declar'd 'it could not possibly be for any longer time, and if he would not take it so, there were others who would accept of it.' Upon which Cromwell at last took the parchment, and return'd to Lindsey with great joy in his countenance, he cry'd, 'Now, Lindsey, the battel is our own! I long to be

Yet he made a rally in his foreign administration, where his genius, which had there a theatre for its exercise unencumbered with his follies or his crimes, still shone supreme.* The details belong to general

the wood, they rode to the army, Cromwell is soon as possible, and the other with a design. After the first charge Lindsey deserted his post, and rode away with all possible speed, day and night, till he came into the county of Norfolk, to the house of an intimate friend, one Mr. Thorowgood, minister of the parish of Grimstone. Cromwell, as soon as he miss'd him, sent all ways after him, with a promise of a great reward to any that shou'd bring him alive or dead.' Thus far the narrative of Lindsey himself; but something further is to be remember'd, to compleat and confirm the story. When Mr. Thorowgood saw his friend Lindsey come into his yard, his horse and himself just tired, in a sort of a maze, said 'How now, colonel! we hear there is like to be a battel shortly. What, fled from your colours?' 'A battel!' said the other, 'yes, there has been a battel, and I am sure the king is beaten; but if ever I strike a stroak for Cromwell, may I perish eternally; for I am sure he has made a league with the devil, and the devil will have him in due time.' Then desiring his protection from Cromwell's inquisitors, he went in, and related the whole story, and all the circumstances, concluding with these remarkable words: 'That Cromwell would certainly dyc that day seven years that the battel was fought.' The strangeness of the relation caus'd Mr. Thorowgood to order his son John, then about twelve years of age, to write it in full length in his common-place book, and to take it from Lindsey's own mouth. This common-place book, and likewise the same story, written in other books, I am assur'd is still preserv'd in the family of the Thorowgoods, but how far Lindsey is to be believ'd, and how far the story is to be accounted incredible, is left to the reader's faith and judgment, and not to any determination of our own."—*Echard's History of England*, p. 691. I will subjoin to this a piece of admirable wit and satire, for which it is even worth while to preserve such a story. Dr. Nettleton, an accomplished physician of the last century, was in company one day with several gentlemen, one of whom was laying great stress on the popular account I have just quoted, even then rise with well educated persons, of Cromwell's selling himself to the devil before the battle of Worcester; affirming, that the bargain was intended to be for twenty-one years, but that the devil had put a trick upon Oliver, by ehanging the 21 into 12; and then, turning hastily to the doctor, the gentleman asked him, "What could be the devil's motive for so doing?" The doctor answered, "*That he could not tell what was his motive, unless he was in a hurry about the restoration.*"

* Mr. Wallace gives, in his most able history of England, the following anecdote of this date, in illustration of the ascendant of Cromwell over Mazarin: "An English merchant vessel was unjustly confiscated on the coast of France, and the owner, an honest quaker, applied to Cromwell for redress. The protector asked him whether he would make a journey to Paris with a letter, was answered in the affirmative, and despatched the quaker with a letter to cardinal Mazarin, demanding redress within three days, at the expiration of which he peremptorily ordered the quaker to return. He obeyed, and presented himself to Cromwell. 'Well, friend, hast thou thy money?' said the protector. The quaker said, 'No' Cromwell desired him to take no further trouble, as he should take the matter into his own hands. He accordingly seized and sold the two first French ships within his reach, indemnified the quaker out of the proceeds, and paid over the surplus to the French ambassador, who submitted to this very summary proceeding." I cannot transcribe this passage from the

history ; but I may be allowed to glance so far at them as to state that Mardyke was now delivered to him under a new and larger treaty with Mazarin, as a security for Dunkirk ; and that, on the subsequent meeting of the troops of the two nations at the siege, Louis XIV. made a journey expressly to see those of Cromwell. It is further recorded, that Lockhart paid him this compliment at the review, — that Cromwell had enjoined both officers and soldiers to display the same zeal in the service of the French king as in his own ; and that Louis replied, he was transported to receive so noble a testimony of the affection of a prince, *whom he had always considered as the greatest and happiest in Europe.* Anticipating the events of a few months later, I may add that, after the surrender of Dunkirk to Lockhart and an English garrison, Louis XIV. and the cardinal having taken up their quarters at Calais, Cromwell seized the occasion to send lord Fauconberg, his son-in-law, with a splendid equipage and a numerous retinue, to compliment the king on his near approach to the shores of Britain. Here Fauconberg was entertained with every possible distinction. Louis not only received him uncovered at his public audiences, but also at a private visit, which he requested from the protector's son-in-law, when they talked for two hours in the garden. The cardinal was equally ceremonious. He came from his apartment to meet the ambassador, and, after an hour's discourse, conducted him again to his carriage, a condescension he was accustomed to dispense with, not only to all others, but to the king himself. After a stay of five days, Fauconberg left, charged with all honour and affection for the great protector from Mazarin and Louis.

history by Mr. Wallace, without an expression of deep and heartfelt regret at the melancholy event which has removed so suddenly from amongst us that excellent person, in whom the public have lost a writer of very great and various accomplishments, and his more intimate friends an adviser and companion whose place they will vainly seek to supply.

I leave this redeeming subject of foreign policy with two rare and memorable missives. The first is a remonstrance to the grand signior, respecting the unjust surprisal of an English ship.

“ Oliver, by the grace of God, lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereto belonging, to the high and mighty emperor, sultan Mahomet Han, chief lord and commander of the mussulman kingdome, sole and supreme monarch of the eastern empire, greeting. . . . Most high and mighty prince. . . . We doubt not but you have found by your owne experience, as well as by information of such as have bin of counsell with your royall predecessors, that the amity and traffique so long continued betweene both nations hath bin of great advantage and benefit in many respects: to the disturbance whereof we should be very unwilling that any occasion should be offered on our part, who desire nothing more then a continuance and increase of that friendship which hath bin established. But it falleth out that the same hath bin too frequently interrupted by such as exercise pyracie and spoile at sea; who, though they are enemies to all entercowrse and civill society, and dishonorable to princes and states, *yet find places of retreate and succor in some part of your dominions.* An instance whereof (to omit many others) appeareth in the late surprizall of an English ship called the Resolution; which being laden with cloth, tynne, lead, and money (to the value of two hundred thousand dollars), and bound for your owne port of Scanderone, was yet in her passage (nere Candy) assaulted by seaven ships of Tripoly, (part of your Majesty’s fleetes, and then actually in your service,) and by them carried to Rhodes, another of your majestie’s ports, where we are informed the captaine bassa hath bin so farr from disowning the action, that he hath, in scorne and contempt of the capitulation, secured the ship and goods, as also the master, mariners, and passengers, who had not a ragge left to cover them.

Which barbarous act, so repugnant to the eniperiall capitulations (which ought to be held inviolate), so injurious to trade, and so dishonourable to your majesty, we cannot pass over without a due consideration and representation to you, as a manifest breach of peace: and therefore we doe presume so much of your wisdom and justice, that you will not only command a totall and compleate restitution to be made of the ship, goods, and money, and releasement of the men, but also for your owne honor take course for suppressing those pyrates, and prohibiting their retreate into places, and receiving favor and succor from persons under your obedience; as also for punishing such as countenance or abett them, and for a generall redress of all former injuries too commonly practiced on our people, both to our dishonor and their irreparable loss. In all which we have given order to our ambassador residing at your high port to informe you more particularly; desiring to understand your resolution herein, that upon knowledge thereof we may take such course as shal be agreeable to justice and to the good of our people, whom we are bound to protect in their lawfull courses of trade. And so we wish you health and true felicity. Given at our pallace at Westminster, the 11th day of the moneth of August, 1657."

The second is addressed, with the date of the same day, to the high and excellent lord, the vizier Azem. "Oliver, by the grace of God lord protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereto belonging, to the high and excellent lord, the vizier Azem. . . . High and excellent lord. . . . As we have now done to the grand signor your lord and master, so doe we also to you, complaine of an act of violence and injustice exercised towards divers merchants of this commonwealth, interested in an English ship called the Resolution; which being laden with cloth, tynne, and money, and bound for the grand signor's owne port of Scanderone,

in a peaceable course of trading, was (notwithstanding) in her way (nere Candy) assaulted by seaven Tripoly men of warr actually ingaged in the grand signor's service, and by them carried to Rhodes: where the captaine bassa hath secured the ship and her lading, and imprisoned the master, mariners, and passengers, being in number forty-five persons. Which act, so contrary to the emperiall capitulations, and to the very essence of commerce, being an absolute breach of the peace between both nations, we cannot but judge will be held very dishonorable to the grand signor, and accordingly to be resented by him, even to the severe punishment of the captaine bassa, who so readily owned the action, and of those others, enemies of humane society, who are guilty of an attempt *so foule and disgracefull to a monarch pretending justice*. And we shall not doubt but, as an intimation of his justice, he will command compleate restitution of ship and goods, and release-ment of the persons: otherwise *you must shortly expect a ruine and dissolution of all trade, besides the confusion and danger that may grow to your owne state*. And therefore we presume you will, (though for noe other respect then your owne interest and safety,) be instrumentall to procure reparation in this particular, and an utter extirpation of those sea rovers; that so peace and the effects thereof, which have bin found so advantageous to both nations, may be preserved, to the mutual good of each. In all which we desire you to give care and credit to our ambassador there, and to procure such speedy answer and returne from his emperiall majesty as may stand with equity and with the continuance of that amity which hath bin settled between both nations, and which we shall not willingly give the least occasion to disturbe without some great provocation. Given at our pallace at Westminster, this 11th day of the month of August, in the yeare 1657."

Lord Fauconberg, I have intimated, was now the

son-in-law of Cromwell. He had married the lady Mary Cromwell, some short period after the prorogation of the parliament. Some few days earlier, the protector's youngest daughter, lady Frances *, had been also married, and her bridegroom was another member of the old aristocracy, Mr. Rich, grandson of the earl of Warwick.† In thus effecting these alliances, Cromwell betrayed the melancholy weakness with which his life was doomed to close. Deprived of the title of king, he had fixed his affections on the creation of the *other house*, granted him by the petition and advice. It occupied all his thoughts, and was clung to, till his life had passed, with, for such a man, a kind of imbecile fondness. These noble alliances, it is admitted by his friends and courtiers, were designed to aid him in the scheme.

The marriage of lady Frances with Mr. Rich ‡ would

* This is the lady of whom is told a singularly well attested story of a proposal of marriage from Charles the Second. It is related by Morrice, chaplain to lord Broghil, in his life of that nobleman, and by Burnet (*History of his Own Times*), who states that he had it from Broghil's lips. It runs thus, being said to belong to the year 1653, the period in which Cromwell had all power in his own hands, and before he had openly assumed the office of chief magistrate. Lord Broghil was the author of the proposition. Having, as we are told, opportunities, by a secret correspondence with some about the king, he sounded Charles's inclinations, as to how he would feel respecting a proposition to restore him to his hereditary dominions by means of such a marriage. The royal exile received the proposition with avidity. Its author next stated it to the mother and daughter. Neither of them showed any aversion to the suggestion. Having succeeded thus far, the next business was to break the proposal to Cromwell himself. This Broghil took an opportunity of doing in the following manner:—Being one day returned from the city, and waiting upon Cromwell in his closet, one of the first questions with which he was accosted was, whether there was any news? "In truth there is," said Broghil; "and very strange news." "What is it?" "It is in every body's mouth," answered the courtier; "but I dare not mention the news in the city is, that the pretender." The general was struck with the suggestion, and paced up and down the room two or three times in silence. "And what do people say to the tale?" I assure you it is received with decided approbation by the majority. Consider, sir, that by it you would extricate yourself from your present precarious situation, would become father-in-law to a prince who would owe every and of the army, and of kings." "No," said *never forgive me the death of his father*"

† For the extraordinary festivities at this marriage, see my last volume, p 186; and see also APPENDIX B, COURT CIRCULAR

‡ Mr. Rich died a few months after the marriage; and I may quote a

seem to have been a love-match, too. I ascertain this from a curious letter written by her sister Mary to Henry Cromwell, and which proves also that somewhat similar difficulties to those which so long obstructed Richard's marriage with miss Major*, had occurred here also. Not the less does it prove the lord protector's fatherly affection stronger than any politic consideration, and illustrate generally the close ties of love which, in the midst of all their grandeur, still held this family together.

letter from his venerable grandfather to Cromwell, in fairness and justice to the every-way honourable testimony it bears to the latter. "My per and my heart were ever your lordship's servants, now they are become your debtors. This paper cannot enough confess my obligations, and much less discharge it, for your reasonable and sympathising letters, which (because the value they derive from so worthy a hand) express such faithful affections, and administer such Christian advice, as renders them beyond measure welcome and dear to me. And, although my heaviness and distraction of thoughts, persuade me rather to peruse those excellent lines than to answer them, and to take relief from them rather than make a return to them, yet I must not be so indulgent to mine own sorrows as to lose this opportunity of being thankful to your lordship for so great a favour. My lord, I dare not be insensible of that hand which hath laid a very sharp and awaking affliction upon me; but we may not be so presumptuous as to make choice of our own rod, or so much as in thought to detract from or diminish the justice, and wisdom, and goodness of God, in those hard events which must all stand inviolable, when millions of such worms as I am are gone to dust. I must need say, I have lost a dear and comfortable relation, one in whom I had much determined my affections and lodged my hopes, are now rebuked and withered by a hasty and early death; but my property in him was inferior to his who hath taken him, and I must rest my heart in his proceedings, making it my care and suit that those evils which cannot be averted may be sanctified. In order to which I desire, from this one sad instance, to argue the whole world of vanity and variableness. Alas! what a staff of reed are these things, which have no stay in themselves, and therefore can give none to us. They witness their own impotency, and themselves admonish us to pitch our rest above this sphere of changeable mortality, and to cast anchor in heaven, while we can find no hold at all on earth. Assuredly he that will have and hold a right tranquillity must find it in a sweet fruition of God, which, whosoever wants, may be secure, but cannot be quiet. — My lord, I ease t
Only ease t
which, together with your prudent, heroic, and honourable managery of them, I do here congratulate, as well as my grief will give me leave. Others' goodness is their own; yours is a whole country's, yea, three kingdoms; for which you justly possess interest and renown with wise and good men; ply, to love an instrumet.. Go on, my lord; go on happy your lordship long continue in a precedent of glory! This is the inward and affectionate prayer of, my lord, your lordship's most affectionate servant, Warwick.

* See my last volume, p. 246. *et seq.*

“ Deare Brother, — Your kind leters do so much engag my hart towards you, that I can never tell how to express in writing the tru affection and value I have of you, who, truly, I think, non that knows you but you may justly claim it from. I must confes myself in a great fault in the omiteing of writing to you and your dear wif, so long a tim ; but I suppos you canot be ignorant of the reason, which truly has ben the only caus ; which is this bisnes of my sister Franses and mr. Rich. Truly I can truly say it, for thes thre months, I think our famyly, and myself in perticular, have ben in the gratest confusion and troble as ever poor famly can be in ; the Lord tel us his . . . in it, and setel us, and mak us what he would hav us to be. I suppos you hard of the breaking of of the busness, and according to your deser in your last leter, as well as I can, I will give you a full account of it, which is thes. After a quarter of a yeor’s admitons, my father and my lord Warwick begon to tret about the estate ; and it sems my lord did ofer that that my father expected. I ned not nam perticulars, for I suppos you may hav had it from beter hands : but, if I may say the truth, *I think it was not so much estat as som private resons that my father discovered* to non but my sester Franses and his own famylie, which was a dislik to the young person, which he had from som reports of *his being a visious man, given to play, and such lik things*, which ofis was done by some that had a mind to brak of the match. My sester hearing these things, wos resolvd to know the truth of it ; and truly, dued find all the reports to be fals, that wer raisd of him, *and to tell you the truth, they wer so much engagd in affection before this, that shee could not think of breaking of it of* ; so that my sester engagd me and all the frinds she had, who truly wer very few, to spek in her beñalf, to my father, which we deid ; but could not be hard to any purpos : only this, my father promised, that *if he wer satisfyed as to the report, the estat shold not brak it of* ; which she was satisfyed with. But after this ther

was a second trefy, and my lord Warwick deserred my father to nam what it was he demanded more, and to his utmost, he would satisfy him ; so my father, upon this, mad new propositions, which my lord Warwick has answered as much as he can : but it seems ther is fiv hundred pounds a yeor in my lord Riche's hands, which he has power to sell, and ther are some people, that persuad his highness, that it would be desonerable for him to conclud of it, without thes fiv hundred pounds a yeor be settled upon mr. Rich after his father's deth, and my lord Rich having no esteem at all of his son, becos he is not so bad as himself, will not agre to it ; and thes people, upon this, persuad my father, it would be a desoner to him to yald upon thes terms, it would shew, that he wos mad a fool on by my lord Riche ; which the truth is, how it should be, I cant understand, nor very few els : and truly, I must tel you privatelie, *that they ar so far engagd, as the match cannot be brok of. She acquainted non of her frends with her resolution, when she did it.* Dear brother, this is as far as I can tel the stat of the bisness. The Lord derect them what to do ; and al I think ought to beg of God, to pardon her in her dowing of this thing, which I must say truly, she was put upon by the of things. Dear, let me beg my excuses to my sester for not writing my best respects to her. Pardon this troble, and belev me, that I shal ever striv to approv myself, dear brother, you affectionate sester and servant, MARY CROMWELL."

This lady Mary would seem to have been the family counsellor and referee in all their casual misunderstandings with each other. It is somewhat interesting to find her, at a little earlier date, remonstrating with this same great and able brother Henry, in a tone which would appear to countenance Mrs. Hutchinson's worst scandal against him. "DEAR BROTHER,—I cannot be any longer without beging an excus for my so long silens. You canot but hear of my sestirs ilnes, which inded has ben the only caus of it. You might justly take it il otherwis, and

think ther wer want of that afecion I owe unto you. Inded, dear brother, it was a grat deal of truble to me, to think I should giv you any ocaion to think amis of me ; for I can truly say it, you are very dear to me, and it is a grat truble to me to think of the destans we ar from on another ; and would be mor, if I ded not think you ar doing the Lord's sarvis ; and truly that ought to satisfy us, for whil we ar hear, we cannot expect but that we must be seprated. Deer Brother, the Lord direct you in his ways, and kep your hart clos unto himself ; and I am sur therin you will hav tru comfort, and that that wil last, when all this world shal pass away. I cannot but giv you some item of won that is with you, which is so much feared by your frinds that lov you, is som deshonor to you and my dear sester, if you hav not a grat car ; for it is reported hear, that *she ruls much in your family* ; and truly it is feared she is a descountenanser of the godly people. Therfor, dear brother, tak it not ill, that I giv you an item of her ; for truly if I did not dearly lov you both and your oner, I would not giv you notis of her. Therfor I hope you wil not take it il, that I hav delt thus planly with you. *I supos you know who it is I mean : therfor I desir to be excus'd for not naming of her.* I desir not to be sen in it, and therfor desir you, that you would not tak the lest notis of my writing to you about it, becos I was desir'd not to spek of it ; nor should I, but that I know you wil not tak it amis from your poor sister that lovs you. Dear Brother, I tak my leev to rest. Your Sister and Servant, MARY CROMWELL. . . . Her Highnes desires to hav her love to you and my Sister, and my Sister Franke her respects to you both."

Our attention is now called to the last great public action of the life of the Lord Protector Cromwell. On the 28th of January, 1658, the prorogued parliament reassembled, with its reinforcement (by stipulation of of the petition and advice) of upwards of an hundred of the excluded republicans, and its addition of the

other house. This other house consisted of sixty-one members, and comprised his two sons, Richard and Henry, eight peers of royal creation, several members of his council, some gentlemen of fortune and family, with a due proportion of lawyers and officers, and a very scanty sprinkling of persons known to be disaffected to his government. Of the ancient peers, two only attended, the lords Eure and Falconberg; lords Warwick, Manchester, Mulgrave, and Wharton did not appear. Even old Warwick, who was, as we have seen, Cromwell's very good friend, declared that "he could not sit in the same assembly with colonel Hewson, who had been a shoemaker, and colonel Pride, who had been a drayman;—but had they driven no worse trade," adds Ludlow, "I know not why any good man should refuse to act with them." They had, however, driven a worse trade; and they only now assembled as members of a new nobility, to be covered, in conjunction with their creator, with contempt and scorn. Whitelock, I should add, was also one of these lords, with Lisle, Glyn, Widdrington, Desborough, Jones, Fleetwood, Claypole, and others of that class.* Old Francis Rouse had been rewarded with one of the sinecure titles for his services in the days of Barbone, and the ex-lord mayor Pack had become as real a lord Pack as Cromwell could make him. Our old friend Lenthall, too, received a writ of summons, which is said to have delighted him so much that the coach in which he rode through the Strand next day could hardly contain him. Men might well grieve when they saw the illustrious name of Hampden in such a list, and think it pity that he should not have "inherited his father's noble principles, though he doth his lands." The sturdy name of Haselrig was also there, but only that his formidable opposition in the lower house might be cut off. He contemptuously refused to obey the writ, and presented himself, with

* See Appendix C. for some curious extracts from the many descriptions that were published of them at the time, for the pleasure of the indignant people who despised them.

his old friend Scot, among the commoners, who had taken their station in what was now called the House of Lords, to witness and to ridicule that new and miserable imitation of the ancient forms of monarchy!

Called by the "usher of the black rod," they had found his highness the lord protector seated under a canopy of state. His speech began with the ancient address: "My lords, and gentlemen of the house of commons." It was short, a circumstance he prayed them to excuse *in consequence of the state of his health*, but full of piety; and after an exposition of the eighty-fifth Psalm, he referred his two houses for other particulars to Fiennes, his lord keeper, who, in a long and tedious harangue, praised and defended the new institutions under which they had met.

A few words will describe the brief career of this wretched absurdity. Scot and Haslerig, backed by a formidable majority whom they influenced by their eloquence and talents, flatly refused to acknowledge the new house as a house of lords. They asked who had made its members lords, and who had the privilege of restoring the authority of the ancient peerage. The reply, that the protector had called them lords, and that it was the object of the petition and advice to re-establish the second estate, was no reply for Scot or Haslerig. Whenever the lords sent a message to the commons, the latter refused to give an answer until they had determined by what name they were to address the others, and to what extent they were to admit their right to interfere with the deliberations of a body to whom they, in fact, owed their existence. Were they to have the privileges of the ancient peerage? Were they to be empowered to negative the acts of that house to which they owed their existence? Was it to be borne that the children should assume the superiority over their parents? that the nominees of the protector should control the representatives of the people, the depositaries of the supreme power of the nation? The idea was scouted with a hiss whenever it was broached anew.

Cromwell, in an unprecedented state of anger and excitement, went to the house to remonstrate. The character of his address may be judged from one of its opening passages. “ I look on this to be the great duty of my place, at being *set on a watch tower, to see what may be for the good of these nations*, and what may be for the preventing of evil, that so, by the advice of so great and wise a Council as this is, (that hath in it the life and spirit of these nations) that Good may be attained, and that evil (whatever it is) may be obviated. We shall hardly set our shoulders to this work, unless it shall please God to work some conviction upon our hearts, that there is need of our most serious and best Counsels at such a time as this is. . . *I have not prepared any such matter and rule of speech, to deliver myself unto you, as perhaps might have been more fitter for me to have done, and more serviceable for you to understand me in, but shall only speak plainly and honestly to you, out of such Conceptions as it hath pleased God to set upon me.* . . We have not been now four years and upwards in this Government, to be totally ignorant of the things that may be of the greatest concernment to us. Your dangers, (for that is the head of my speech) they are either with respect had to affairs abroad, and their difficulties; or to affairs at home, and their difficulties. . . You come, as I may say so now, in the end of as great difficulties and straits as, I think, ever nation was engaged in. . . I had in my thoughts, to have made this the method of my speech:—to wit, to have let you see the things that hazard your being and your well being; but when I came seriously to consider better of it, I thought (as your affairs stand) that all things would resolve themselves *into very being*. You are not a nation, you will not be a nation, if God strengthen you not to meet with these evils that are upon us.”

He then proceeded to lecture them on the benefit, the necessity, of unanimity. Let them look abroad. The papists threatened to swallow up all the protestants of Europe. England was the only stay, the last hope,

of religion. Let them look at home. The cavaliers and the levellers were combined to overthrow the constitution; Charles Stuart was preparing an invasion, and the Dutch had ungratefully sold him certain vessels for that purpose. Dissension would inevitably draw down ruin on themselves, their liberties, and their religion. For himself, he called God, angels, and men to witness, that he sought not the office he held. It was forced upon him; but he had sworn to execute its duties, and he would perform what he had sworn, by preserving to every class of men their just rights, whether civil or religious.

These gross falsehoods had now also spent out their day. No one among the republicans cared for them one jot. Accordingly, when he had left the chamber, over and over again were messages renewed "from the lords to the commons," and as often received by the latter with the contemptuous intimation that "that house would return an answer by messengers of their own." Instead of returning the promised answers, however, they spent their whole time in debating what title and what rights ought to belong to the "other house," and whether, indeed, they deserved to have rights or title at all.

Cromwell seems to have been goaded by the nature of this opposition — its contempt, its carelessness, its quiet and collected defiance — into a state approaching to insanity.* His health, as he himself told the house some days before, had evidently broken much. Nothing now remained, to his distempered thoughts, but a dissolution; and, having taken that resolve, he rushed, with the headlong phrenzy of a man who dares not pause to think what he must do, to put it into instant execution. He would not wait for his carriage. He suddenly snatched up his hat, waved to half-a-dozen of his guards to follow him, flung himself into a hackney coach he saw standing near Whitehall, and drove to

* "Something happening that morning that put the protector into a rage and passion near unto madness, as those at Whitehall can witness." — *Second Narrative*, p. 8.

the door of his "house of lords." His appearance when he entered, bespoke the concern of his son-in-law Fleetwood, who hastily ran up to him. Cromwell told him abruptly what he had come to do. Fleetwood tried to dissuade him; but "he clapped," continues Ludlow, from whom I take this account, "his hand on his breast, and swore by the living God he would do it." He sent the usher of the black rod to summon the commons to attend him in the house of lords. They were still engaged in discussing the title of "the other house," when the usher appeared, and they adjourned the question to their return — unconscious of what awaited them.

Oliver Cromwell then delivered, to the last assemblage of men he was doomed to meet within those walls, his last speech. It was brief and passionate, but with a touch of occasional humility, — which may here, at least, in the circumstances of miserable failure that surrounded him, be taken as most sincere. They are proportionately touching.

"I had very comfortable expectations that God would make the meeting of this parliament a blessing; and the Lord be my witness, I desired the carrying on the affairs of the nation to these ends: the blessing which I mean, and which we ever climbed at, was mercy, truth, righteousness and peace, which I desire may be improved. . . .

"That which brought me into the capacity I now stand in, was the petition and advice given me by you, who, in reference to the antient constitution, did draw me to accept of the place of protector. *There is not a man living can say I sought it; no, not a man, nor woman treading upon English ground; but, contemplating the sad condition of these nations, relieved from an intestine war, unto a six or seven years' peace, I did think the nation happy therein. But to be petitioned thereunto, and advised by you to undertake such a government, a burthen too heavy for any creature, and this to be done by the house that then had the legislative*

capacity, I did look that the same men that made the frame, should make it good unto me. *I can say, in the presence of God, in comparison of whom we are but like poor creeping ants upon the earth, I would have been glad to have lived under my wood side, to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than undertook such a government as this is !* but, undertaking it by the advice and petition of you, I did look that you, that had offered it unto me, should make it good.

“I did tell you, at a conference concerning it, that I would not undertake it, unless there might be some other persons that might interpose between me and the house of commons, who then had the power, to prevent tumultuary and popular spirits ; and it was granted I should name another house. I named it of men that shall meet you wheresoever you go, and shake hands with you, and tell you it is not titles, nor lords, nor party, that they value, but a Christian and an English interest ; men of your own rank and quality ; who will not only be a balance unto you, but to themselves, while you love England and religion.

“Having proceeded upon these terms, and finding such a spirit as is too much predominant, every thing being too high or too low, when virtue, honesty, piety, and justice are omitted : I thought I had been doing that which was my duty, and thought it would have satisfied you ; but if every thing must be too high or too low, you are not to be satisfied.

“Again, I would not have accepted of the government, unless I knew there would be a just accord between the governor and the governed ; unless they would take an oath to make good what the parliament’s petition and advice advised me unto ; upon that I took an oath, and they took another oath upon their part answerable to mine ; and did not every one know upon what condition they swore ? God knows, I took it upon the conditions expressed in the government. And I did think we had been upon a foundation, and upon a bottom, and thereupon I thought myself bound to take

it, and to be advised by the two houses of parliament ; and we standing unsettled till we were arrived at that, the consequences would necessarily have been confusion, if that had not been settled. Yet there are not constituted hereditary lords, nor hereditary kings ; the power consisting in the two houses and myself. I do not say that was the meaning of your oath to you ; that were to go against my own principles, to enter upon another man's conscience. *God will judge between me and you* : if there had been in you any intention of settlement, you would have settled upon this basis, and have offered your judgment and opinion.

“ God is my witness, I speak it ; it is evident to all the world and people living, that a new business hath been seeking in the army against this actual settlement made by your consent. I do not speak to *these gentlemen, or lords* [pointing to his right hand], *or whatsoever you will call them*. I speak not this to them, but to you. You advised me to run into this place, to be in a capacity by your advice ; yet, instead of owning a thing taken for granted, *some must have I know not what* ; and you have not only disjointed yourselves, but the whole nation, which is in likelihood of running into more confusion, in these fifteen or sixteen days that you have sat, than it hath been from the rising of the last session to this day ; through the intention of devising a commonwealth again, that some of the people might be the men that might rule all ; and they are endeavouring to engage the army to carry that thing. And hath that man been true to this nation, whosoever he be, especially that hath taken an oath, thus to prevaricate ? These designs have been among the army, to break and divide us. I speake this in the presence of some of the army, that these things have not been according to God, nor according to truth, pretend what you will. These things tend to nothing else, but the playing the king of Scots' game, if I may so call him ; and I think myself bound, before God, to do what I can to prevent that.

“ That which I told you in the banquetting house

was true, that there were preparations of force to invade us ; God is my witness, it hath been confirmed to me since within a day, that the king of Scots hath an army at the water side, ready to be shipped for England. I have it from those who have been eye-witnesses of it ; and while it is doing there are endeavours from some, who are not far from this place, to stir up the people of this town into a tumulting : *what if I said into a rebellion ?* And I hope I shall make it appear to be no better, if God assist me. It hath been not only your endeavour to pervert the army while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the question about a commonwealth, but some of you have been listing of persons, by commission of Charles Stuart, to join with any insurrection that may be made : and what is like to come upon this, the enemy being ready to invade us, but even present blood and confusion ? And if this be so, I do assign to this cause your not assenting to what you did invite me to by the petition and advice, as that which might be the settlement of the nation ; and if this be the end of your sitting, and this be your carriage, I think it high time that an end be put unto your sitting, and I do dissolve this parliament, *and let God judge between me and you.*"

At this last solemn appeal, Scot called out aloud, AMEN ! and was echoed, with a sad significance, by other members that surrounded him. Can there be a doubt for whom the judgment has passed ?

A flock of sheep by a wood side would, indeed, have been a preferable fortune to the thoughts with which Cromwell must that day have returned to Whitehall. Every political expedient he had tried in his domestic government of England had failed. His treasury was empty ; and he had just broken, with violence, the only resource that could safely have replenished it. His English army was five months in arrear, and his Irish seven. Petitions were on foot in the city, and elsewhere, against what was left to him of his power ; and he stood in the very midst of muskets and daggers that

were aimed against his life. Killing had been declared No Murder against him ; and a pamphlet, with that terrible title, circulated in England within the last two months by thousands, had embittered days and nights with the uncertain sense that each moment was to prove his last. For several nights, indeed, preceding that very day, he had made the round of the posts at Whitehall in person ; for even his own body-guard he could trust no longer. "The protector's own muster-roll," said that awful writing, which seemed to face him continually, "contains the names of those who aspire to the honour of delivering their country ; his highness is not secure at his table or in his bed ; death is at his heels wherever he moves ; and though his head reaches the clouds, he shall perish like his own dung, and they that have seen him shall exclaim — *Where is he ?*"

Melancholy duties awaited him next day. With this haunting sense of danger, which now pressed in upon him to the exclusion of nearly every other thought, he was obliged to cashier many of the favourite officers in his own favourite regiment. "I that had served him," says colonel Hacker, a brave and single-hearted soldier, "fourteen years, ever since he was captain of a troop of horse till he came to this power, and had commanded a regiment seven years, without any trial or appeal,—with the breath of his nostrils I was ousted ; and lost not only my place, but a dear friend to boot. Five captains, under my command, all of integrity, courage, and valour, were ousted with me, because they could not say that that was a house of lords."

Still no greater safety was achieved. The flood that was so soon to bear him down, rolled heavily and uninterruptedly on. It would be idle to attempt to describe the conspiracies that surrounded him, even the more terrible because he knew them all.* The system of espion-

* Some little relief there is in an occurrence the marquis of Ormond was once told. The marquis was at the time in the city of London, and was the subject of a plot to assassinate him. The plot was discovered, and the conspirators were executed. But Cromwell was fully apprised of his presence and his proceed-

age that had been organized by Thurloe was by far the most extraordinary that had been known in those days, or perhaps in later; and it was said that even Thurloe knew not all that the lord protector knew.* The letters that were interchanged between the members of his family were expressions of alarm at a most dear father or husband's imminent danger, or of congratulation at his marvellous escape. I present to the reader perhaps one of the last letters, if not the last, that the lady Elizabeth ever wrote. It is to her sister-in-law, the wife of Henry Cromwell, and bears the date of the 12th of June.

"DEARE SISTER, — I must beg your pardon, that I do not right to you so oft ase I would doe: but, in earnist, I have bin so extremely sickly of late, that it has made mee unfit for any thing, thoye thare is nothing that can plese me more, then wherein I maye expres my tru lofe, and respekt to you; which I am suer non has more resen than my self, both for your former fafers, and the cens you have of any thing, which arises to me of happnes.

ings. He asked Broghill whether he was aware of the presence of an old friend. Broghill asked who it was; he was told by Cromwell it was the marquis of Ormond, and professed his entire ignorance of the fact. "I know it well," said Cromwell; "and I will tell you where he is, in order that you may save your old acquaintance." No one had greater magnanimity than Cromwell, where the question was one of a purely personal kind.

* From many rumoured scenes and incidents by which I might illustrate the popular notion of this formidable secretary, and his still more formidable chief, I present the following: "Thurloe was wont to tell that he was commanded by Cromwell to go at a certain hour to Gray's Inn, and at such a place deliver a bill of 20,000*l.* to a man he shou'd find walking in such a habit and posture as he describ'd him, which accordingly Thurloe did, and never knew to the day of his death either the person or the occasion. At another time the protector coming late at night into Thurloe's office, which he kept in the last staircase in Lincoln's Inn, towards Holborn, that has a way down into the garden, made on purpose for Cromwell's coming to him unobserv'd, the protector began to discourse with his secretary about an affair of the last importance; but seeing Moreland, one of the clerks, afterwards sir Samuel Moreland, was in the office, whom he had not seen before, tho' he pretended to be asleep upon his desk, and fearing he might have overheard them, he drew out a dagger which he always carried under his coat, and was going to dispatch Moreland on the spot, if Thurloe had not, with great intreaties, prevail'd upon him to desist, assuring him Moreland had sat up two nights together, and was certainly fast asleep. Probably this incident gave rise to the fictions of Moreland and Henshaw, and Moreland and Willis; but no question Moreland did betray his master, when he found things were like to take another turn, and indeed I never heard much of his integrity or merit." — *Oldmixon's History*, p. 424.

I will aisuere you, nothing of that can bee to mee, wherein I have not power to express how really I lofe and bonnor you. Truly, the Lord has bin very gratus to us, in doeing for us abofe whot we could exspekt ; and now has shod himself more extraordinary in delevering my father out of the hands of his enymise, which wee have all reson to be sensible of in a very pertikellar manner ; for sertingly not ondly his famely would have bin ruined, but in all probabilliyti tbe hol nation would have bin invold in blood. The Lord grant it maye never be forgot by us, but that it may cose us to depend upon him, from hom we have reseved all good, and that it may cose us to se the mutablenes of thise things, and to yuse them accordingly ; I am suer wee have nede to bage that sperrit from God. Hary is vary well, I hope you will se him this sommer. Truly, thare is nothing I desier more, then to enjoy you with us. I wis you may laye your grat bely here. I bag my true afficktion to your letel wons. Dear sister, I am your most afficktineate sister and servant,

E. CLAYPOLE."

The plot referred to by lady Elizabeth was what is called the Slingsby and Hewet plot ; and to avert the fate of Hewet, an episcopal clergyman, whose ministry she was attached to, even this favourite and best beloved daughter of Cromwell exerted herself in vain. Both Slingsby and Hewet perished on the scaffold. The health of the lady Elizabeth, which was always delicate, and had been of late extremely so, seemed after this incident to wear still faster away ; but whether that incident was at all connected with its more rapid decline, may be doubted. Be that as it may, it was at least watched with a more than father's anxiety by Cromwell. Even during all the disputes and anxieties that beset him at the opening of his last parliament, nothing set aside that private sorrow. I find in one of Thurloe's letters this passage : " His highnes, findeing he can have noe advise from those he most expected it from, sayth he will take his owne resolutions, and that he cannot any longer satisfye himselfe to sitt still, and

make himselfe guilty of the losse of all the honest partye, and of the nation itselfe ; and truly I have long wished that his highnes would proceed according to his owne satisfaction, and not soe much consider others, who truly are to be indulged in every thing but where the beinge of the nation is concerned. *His highnes is now at Hampton Court, and will continue there for some tyme, as well for his own health as to be neare my lady Elizabeth, who hath beene of late very dangerously ill, now is somewhat better.*"

But the sorrows and anxieties of both father and daughter were now, happily for them, hastening to a rapid close. Public necessities pressed fearfully on the protector. He had contracted enormous debts ; his exchequer was frequently drained to the last shilling ; and his ministers were compelled "to go a begging," as Thurloe tells us, for the temporary loan of a few thousand pounds, with the cheerless anticipation of a refusal. There, too, was the army, the greater part of which he had quartered in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, as his chief — his only — support against his enemies ; and while the soldiers were comfortably clothed and fed, he might perhaps with confidence rely on their attachment ; but now that their pay was in arrear, might not discontent induce them to listen to the suggestions of those officers who sought to subvert his power ? * He had once imposed taxes by his own authority—he dared not attempt it now. He strove to get up a loan in the city—the merchants, impoverished by the failure of their Spanish trade, eluded all his efforts. Thurloe himself gave way to despair at last. It was only, he said, when he looked up to heaven that he discovered a gleam of hope, in the persuasion that the God who had befriended Cromwell through life would not desert him at its close. Thurloe should have rather wished that life to close as it was. It could be stretched out no longer with profit or with honour. If the lord protector had indeed a

* Langard, vol. ii. p. 347.

FORTUNATE DAY, it became his friends to anticipate with no ungenerous hope that that might be his DEATH DAY. His errors were irretrievable. He could not then recall the "game of the king of Scots," which he had played so well. His arts were utterly exhausted; and what but mischief could there be in the further reiteration of a life that was powerless and valueless without them?

A parliament was nevertheless thought of once more! Urged by Thurloe's entreaties, he appointed a committee to consider of the means of defeating the republicans. The committee sat and deliberated, and deliberated and sat, but nothing very ingenious did they hit upon; and Cromwell's last public action was to dissolve them. Thurloe lifted hands and eyes to heaven, and said no more. Cromwell redoubled his precautions for personal safety. He multiplied every means of defence he had. As if apprehensive of some attack upon his palace, he selected from different regiments of cavalry a hundred and sixty "brave fellows," in whom he could repose the utmost confidence, and to whom he gave the pay and appointments of officers. He divided them into eight troops of twenty men each and directed that two of these bodies, in rotation, should always be on duty near his person. He wore a coat of mail, or steel shirt, as it was called, under his clothes; he carried loaded pistols in his pockets; he sought to remain in privacy; and, when he found it necessary to give audience, he "sternly watched the eyes and gestures of those who addressed him." He was careful that his own motions should not be known beforehand. His carriage was filled with attendants; a numerous escort accompanied him; and he proceeded at full speed, "frequently diverging from the road to the right or left, and generally returning by a different route." In his palace he often inspected the nightly watch; changed his bedchamber; and was careful that, besides the principal door, there should be some other egress for the facility of escape.

And this was the Cromwell who had almost singly turned the enemy's line at Marston Moor, — the Cromwell of Naseby, of Worcester, of Newbury, of Dunbar ! But what spirit can fight against shadows, — those most terrible shadows that spring up from the grave of virtue ? This hero passed his nights in a state of feverish anxiety ; sleep had fled from his pillow ; and for more than a year before his death, the absence of rest is always found assigned as either the cause which produced, or the circumstance which aggravated, his numerous ailments.*

But now they were all forgotten in the sudden and most dangerous relapse of his dearest daughter. It was announced to him that she was dying. Public affairs, private dangers, his own bodily pains — all were thrust aside for the greater love and the more unselfish sorrow, and he hurried to Hampton Court to watch by her bedside her slightest wish, — to alleviate, or console, or share, her dying thoughts and sufferings. The lord protector of three great kingdoms became the protector of his child alone ; and that death-bed, if it had its dark pangs of grief, had surely its tender rays of sunshine too. Such griefs to such a man must have brought back with them some of nature's kindest memories.

On the 4th of August, the lady Elizabeth Claypole died ; and on the 17th, Thurloe wrote to Henry Cromwell. Having described " my lady Elizabeth's funerals," the secretary thus proceeded : — " Your lordship is a very sensible judge how great an affliction this was to both their highnesses, and how sadd a familie she left behinde her, which saddness was truly very much increased by the sickness of his highnesse, who at the same time lay very ill of the gout, *and other distempers, contracted by the long sicknesse of my lady Elizabeth, which made great impressiōe upon him ;* and since that, wheither it were the retireinge of the gout out of his foot into his body, or from some other cause, I am not able to say, he hath beene very

* Lingard, vol. ii. p. 350.

dangerously sicke, the violence whereof lasted 4 or 5 days; but, blessed be God, he is now reasonable well recovered, and this day he went abroad for an houre, and findes himselfe much refreshed by it, soe that this recovery of his highness doth much allay the sorrow for my lady Elizabeth's death. Your excellencye will easily imagine what an alarume his highnes sicknesse gave us, heing in the posture wee are now in."

A slow fever, however, still lurked about the lord protector, and on the 24th he was again confined to his room. The fever was pronounced to be a hastard tertian. One of his physicians, as they stood in his chamber that day, whispered to another, that his pulse was intermittent. The words caught the ears of the great soldier: he turned pale; a cold perspiration covered his face; and, requesting to be placed in bed, he executed his private will. The next morning he had recovered his usual composure; and, when he received the visit of his physician, ordering all to quit the room but his wife, whom he held by the hand, he said to the physician, — "Do not think that I shall die; I am sure that I shall not." Then, observing the surprise which these words excited, he continued: "Don't think that I am mad; I tell you the truth; I know it from better authority than any which you can have from Galen or Hippocrates. It is the answer of God himself to our prayers; not to mine alone, but to those of others, who have a more intimate interest in him than I have."*

* Bates's *Eleuchi*, pars secunda, p. 215. I subjoin the original passage: — "Post prandium autem accedentibus ad eum quinque quos habebat medicis, quidam ex tactu pulsum intermisisse pronunciat; quo, audito ille subito consternatus ore pallet, sudatiunculas patitur, et ferè deliquium, jubetque se ad lectulum deportari; atque ibi cardiacis refocillatus, supremum condidit testamentum, sed de rebus privatis et domesticis. Manè summus, cum unus è cæteris visitatum veniret, percontatur, quare vultus ei adeo tristis. Cùmque responderet, ita oportere, si cui vitæ ac salutis ejus pondus incumberet; Vos (inquit) medici me creditis intermoriturum: dein cæteris amotis (uxorem manu complectens) ita hunc affatur Tibi pronuncio, non esse mihi hoc morbo moriendum; hujus enim certus sum. Et quia intentiori aspectantem oculo ad ista verba cerneret, Tu me (inquit) nè credas insanire; verba veritatis eloquor, certioribus innixus quàm vobis Galanus aut Hippocrates vester suppelitat rationibus. Deus ipse hoc responsum precibus dedit non meis unius, verum et eo um quibus arctius cum illo commercium et major familiaritas. Pergite alacres, excussa penitus à vultu tristitiâ, meque instar servuli tractate. Pollere vobis licet

The same communication was made to Thurloe and to the different members of the protector's family; nor did it fail to obtain credit among men who believed that "in other instances he had been favoured with similar assurances, and they had never deceived him." Hence, his chaplain, Goodwin, exclaimed "O Lord, we pray not for his recovery — that thou hast granted already: what we now beg is his speedy recovery."*

All of them seem to have forgotten (and himself alas, the first!) that nine days later would be his FORTUNATE DAY.

Having been moved for change of air to Whitehall, till the palace of St. James's could be prepared for him, his strength rapidly wasted, and his fever became a double tertian. On the 25th of August, Thurloe thus wrote to Henry Cromwell: "May it please your Excellency, I gave you some account by Doctor Worth of His Highnes condition, as it then was; but lest he should delay his journey, or miscarry in it, I thought it necessary to send this expresse, to the end your excellency may fully understand how it is with his Highnesse. This is the 13th day since his Ague took him, haveinge been sicke a fortnight before of a generall distemper of body. It continued a good while to be a tertian ague, and the burninge fitts very violent. Upon Saturday it fell to a double tertian, haveinge two fitts in 24 houres, one upon the heeles of another, which doe extreamely weaken hym, and endaunger his life. And trulye since Saterday morninge he hath scarce beene perfectly out of his fitts. The Doctors are yett hopefull, that he may struggle through it, though their hopes are mingled with much feare. But truly wee have cause to put our hope in the Lord, and to expect mercy from hym in this case, he haveinge stirred up the saints to pray for hym in all

prudencia rerum; plus tamen valet natura quam medici simul omnes; Deu- autem naturam longiori superat intervallo."

* Lingard, vol. ii. p. 353.

places. Never was there a greater stocke of prayers goinge for any man then is now goeing for hym ; and truly there is a generall consternation upon the spirits of all men, good and bad, feareinge what may be the event of it, should it please God to take his bignesse at this tyme : and God havinge prepared the heart to pray, I trust he will encline his eare to heare. And that which is some ground of hope is, that the Lord, as in some former occasions, hath given to *himselfe* a particular assurance that he shall *yet live to serve hym and to carry on the worke* be hath put into his handes. . . I doe not yet finde, that there are any great stirrings yet upon this occasion, though the Cavaliers doe begin to listen after it, and hope their day is comeinge, or indeed come,-if his Highnes dye. *And truly, my Lord, wee have cause to feare, that it may go very ill with us, if the Lord should take away his Highnes in this conjuncture.* Not that I thinke Charles Stewarts' interest is so great, or his partye so powerfull in them selves : *but I feare our own divisions*, which may be great enough if his Highnesse should not settle and fix his successor before he dyces, which truly I beleewe he hath nott yet done. He did by himselfe declare one in a paper before he was installed by the parliament, and sealed it up in the forme of a letter, directing it to me, but kept both the name of the person and the paper to himselfe. After he fell sicke at Hampton Court, he sent Mr. John Barrington to London for it, *tellinge hym it lay upon his study table at Whitehall ; but it was not to be found there, nor elsewhere, though it hath been very narrowly looked for.* And in this condition matters stand, his highnesse haveinge beene too ill to be troubled with a buissines of this importance. This day he hath had some discourse about it, but his illnes disenabled hym to conclude it fully ; and if it should please the Lord not to give hym tyme to settle his succession before his death, the judgment would be the soarer, and our condition the more dangerous ; but I trust he will have compassion on us, and not leave us as a prey to our

enemies, or to one another. All persons here are very reserved as to what they will doe, in case his Highness should not declare his Successor before he dyes, not beinge willinge to enterteyne any discourse of it, either because it is a matter too grievous to be thought of, or because they would not discover any oppinion, which might crosse his highnesse thoughts in his life tyme. And this, my Lord, is the whole account I am able to give your Lordship of this sadd buissines, which I am sure will occasion much trouble and sorrow to you ; but I could not omit my duty, judgeinge it absolutely necessary, that your Excellency should understand all that passes or falls out upon this subject, that you may the better knowe, how to direct your prayers and counsells, and stirre up others alsoe to pray for his highnesse and three nations in this day of distresse. And as any thinge further occurs (which I beseech the Lord may be for good) I shall suddenly dispatch it away to you, and be ready to answer such Commands, as your Excellency shall lay upon me, beinge, Your Excellencye's most humble, faithfull, and obedient servant, Jo. THURLOE. Whitehall, 30 Aug., 1658, 9 o'clock at night. . . The Kinge of Sweden and the Kinge of Dennimark are againe in open hostility ; the Kinge of Sweden landed an army upon his island of Zealand, and is like to possesse himselfe of his Capitall Citty, Copenhagen, and the Sound. The cause of this new quarrel I cannot now acquaint your excellencye, beinge not informed myselfe. . . *That about the Succession is an absolute secret : I beseech your Excellencye keepe it soe.*"

This despatch suggests thoughts with which this work has nothing now to do. The final scene approached fast. On the second of September, Cromwell, who had been delirious, had a lucid interval of some duration. He called on one of his chaplains to read a certain text to him out of the bible. They read what he directed from St. Paul to the Philippians. "Not that I speak in respect of want, for I have learned in whatever state I am, therewith to be content. I can do

all things through Christ which strengtheneth me. Notwithstanding ye have well done that ye did communicate with my affliction." As this fell upon his ear, he murmured brokenly forth these inexpressibly touching words. "*This Scripture did once save my life, when my eldest son died, which went as a dagger to my heart indeed it did.*"*

Then, as they stood around his bed, he suddenly lifted himself up, and, with what energy remained, "Tell me," said he to Sterry, one of his chaplains, "*is it possible to fall from grace?*" "*It is not possible,*" replied the minister. "*Then,*" exclaimed the dying man, "*I am safe : for I know that I was once in grace.*" So re-assuring himself even then with the most fatal doctrine of his life, he turned round and prayed, not for himself, but for God's people. "Lord," he said, "although I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with thee, through grace, and I may, I will, come to thee for thy people. Thou hast made me (though very unworthy) a mean instrument to do them some good, and thee service ; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death : but, Lord, however thou dost dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them ; give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love, and go on to deliver them ; and with the work of reformation ; and make the name of Christ glorious in the world ; teach those who look too much upon thy instruments to depend more upon thyself ; pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are thy people too. And pardon the folly of this short prayer, even for Jesus Christ's sake, and give us a good night, if it be thy pleasure."

He went into a kind of stupor, after this, but revived

* Collection of Passages concerning his late Highness in Time of his Sickness, p. 12. The author was Underwood, groom of the bedchamber, and was present at the scene.

a little as the night closed in, and began to murmur half audible words. An eye-witness* describes the affecting scene: “ ‘ Truly God is good ; indeed he is ... he will not ’ . . . there his speech failed him, but, as I apprehended, it was ‘ he will not leave me : ’ this saying that God was good he frequently used all along ; and would speak it with much chearfulness and fervour of spirit in the midst of his pain. Again, he said, ‘ I would be willing to live to be further serviceable to God and his people, but my work is done, yet God will be with his people.’ *He was very restless most part of the night, speaking often to himself.* And there being something to drink offered him, he was desired to take the same, and endeavour to sleep ; unto which he answered, ‘ *It is not my design to drink or to sleep, but my design is to make what haste I can to be gone.* ’ ”

The morning of the next day dawned from a sky of terrible storm. It was the 3d of September. Cromwell had relapsed into a state of utter insensibility, but he lived until four o'clock in the afternoon, when, unconscious still, he breathed heavily, and his chaplains looking closely into the bed found that his great spirit had passed away. All the attendants who were present, and who had lost at that instant one of the kindest, the gentlest, and most affectionate of masters, wept and groaned aloud. “ Cease to weep,” exclaimed the enthusiastic and most confident Sterry ; “ you have more reason to rejoice. He was your protector here ; he will prove a still more powerful protector, now that he is with Christ at the right hand of the Father ! ”

Thurloe at once announced the event to Henry Cromwell in this earnest and mournful despatch: “ May it please your excellency, I did by an expresse upon Munday give your excellency an account of his highnesse sicknes, and the daunger he was in. Since that it hath pleased God to put an end to his dayes. He died yesterday, about four of the clocke in the afternoone. I am not able to speake or write. This stroake

* Underwood.

is soe soare, soe unexpected, the providence of God in it soe stupendious, consideringe the person that is fallen, the tyme and season wherein God tooke hym away, with other circumstances, I can doe nothinge but put my mouthe in the dust, and say, 'It is the Lord!' And though his wayes be not always knowne, yet they are alwayes righteous, and wee must submitt to his will, and resigne up ourselves to him with all our concernements. . . . His highnes was pleased before his death to declare my lord Richard successor. He did it upon Munday; and the Lord hath soe ordered it, that the councell and army hath received him with all manner of affection. He is this day proclaymed; and *hitherto there seems a great face of peace*: the Lord continue it! . . . It is not to be sayd what affection the army and all people shew to his late highness; his name is 'already precious. Never was there any man soe pray'd for as he was dureinge his sicknes; solemne assemblies meetinge every day, to beseech the Lord for the continuance of his life; soe that he is gone to heaven, embalmed with the teares of his people, and upon the winges of the prayers of the saints. He lived desired and dyed lamented, every body bemoaning themselves, and sayeing, 'A great man is fallen in Israel!' The Lord double his spirit upon his successor and upon your excellencye, that you both may be famous in your generation, and be helped by God, with one heart and shoulder, to carry on that worke, the foundation whereof your most renowned father layed, and for which posteritie will blesse hym! The councell hath given your excellencye an account of what is done as to the proclayminge his highnes your brother. I only herewith send the voet of the councell; and, *though I know not what will be my portion or condition here*, yet I shall alwayes be your excellency's most humble and obedient servant, Jo. Thurloe." . . . His highnes (Richard), intends to send a gentleman to your excellency in the beginninge of the next weeke, to let you understand fully the state of all things here and of your family;

and comanded me to desire you to excuse his not write-
inge by this messenger. The truth is, his highnes'
death is soe soare a stroake unto him, and he is soe sen-
sible of it, that he is in noe condition to write or doe
yet. Here is a sadd family on all hands : the Lord
support them ! ”

The great storm of the night of the 2d of Septem-
ber, 1658, reached to the coasts of the Mediterranean.
It was such a night in London as had rarely been
passed by dwellers in crowded streets. Trees were
torn from their roots in the park, chimnies blown down,
and houses unroofed, in the city. The various accounts
which writers as various have handed down to us, would
seem to realise the night of Duncan's murder.

“ As they say,
Lamentings heard i' the air ; strange screams of death
And prophesying, with accents terrible,
Of dire combustion, and confus'd events,
New hatch'd to the woful time. The obscure bird
Clamour'd the live-long night.”

It was, indeed, a night which prophesied a woeful
time to England, but to Cromwell it proved a night of
happiness. It ushered in for him, far more surely than
at Worcester or Dunbar, his FORTUNATE DAY.

APPENDIX.

A.

A SKETCH OF THE CIVIL WARS TO THE PROTECTORATE OF RICHARD CROMWELL, IN A LETTER FROM MAIDSTONE, OF OLIVER'S HOUSEHOLD, TO JOHN WINTHROP, ESQ., GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT IN NEW ENGLAND.

SIR,

YOUR kinde remembrance of mee in Mr. Hooke's letter, covered me with noe small shame, that I have neglected a person of soe signal worth, as all reportes I meet with present you in; especially when it is attended with the consideration of the obligations your father's memorie hath left upon me.

Yet may I not be so injurious to my selfe, as to acknowledge, that the long omission of writing to you proceeded from forgetfulnesse. The frequent discourse I have made of your selfe and honoured father, have created testimony sufficient to vindicate mee from such ingratitude. But the perpetual hurry of distressing affaires, wherein for some yeares I have been exercised, deprived me of gaining a fit opportunity of conveying letters. And this is briefly and truely the cause of so long an intermission. For me now to present you with a relation of the unheard-of dealing of God towards his people in thes nations, is not my designe; partly because I believe you have heard much of it, but principally because such a worke would better become a voluminous chronicle, then a short epistle. For it would weary the winge of an eagle to measure out the wayes, wherein God hath walked, with all the turnings and intricacys, that are found in them. The quarrel, at first commenced betwixt king and parliament, was grounded upon a civil foundation: the king accusing

them of invading his prerogative, and the house charging him with the breach of their privileges, and consequently the invassalaging the people represented by them. When this argument had for some time been agitated by as hot and bloudy a war as this latter age hath seen, it fel at last to be managed (on the parliament side) by instruments religiously principled, in whose hand it received so many evident testimonies of God's extraordinary presence and conduct, that in conclusion a period was put to it, the king made a prisoner, and all his expectation of rescue utterly defeated and cut off. While the matter stood in this posture, great debates, solicitous consultations and cabals are held, in order to settlement ; for thes transactions (according to the constant product of all such things), had created factions and divisions betwixt persons of equal worth in point of parts, and (as themselves thought), of ballancing merit, to receive the reward of so great and hazardous an undertaking as they had gone thorow. The parties instantly divyded themselves (or rather did appeare divyded, for they had been so before,) under the heades of Presbitery and Independency. The former had the advantage in number, the ministry generally adhering to them ; the latter in having been the active instrument, by whose valour and conduct the king was brought from a pallace to a prison, and thereby were possest of the militarie power of the nation ; by helpe whereof, and having many frindes in the house of commons against the miude of the major part, they first secluded them, and then set aside the house of lords ; and by a co-operation with the house of commons then sitting (whom they owned as the supream power of the nation), the king was brought to tryall before an high court of justice (consisting of members of parliament, officers of the army, and others), and proceeded against to execution.

This act was highly displeasing to many, who with equal zeal and forwardness had assisted in the war. Insomuch that the difference, which the king's party put between them that fought with him, and thos that take away his life, they exprest in this proverb : that presbiterians held him by the hayr, till independants cut of his head. Yet have the former struggled hard ever since, to doe something, that might render them

under a better character, as to their covenant and loyalty to the king. The peace of the nation being thus settled, and the king's family and offspring departed into foreign places, his eldest son, the prince of Wales, traveled into the Netherlands, where (after some short time) application was made to him by the most serious and prudent party of Scotland (amongst whom I know some to be as choice men, as most I have been acquainted with, for wisdom and true boldness, for so it becomes me to judge), who presented to him the consideration of the stupendous judgments of God upon him and his father's house, and pressed upon him the sense of it, endeavouring to reduce him to Scotland, in order to restore him to his dominions, upon hope that he might be instrumental to honour God, and re-establish public peace. To this he gave very favourable returns, and in a short time shipped himself for Scotland, and arrived there, where he was honourably entertained by that which is called the Kirk party, and is indeed the religious party of that nation: by them he was crowned king of Scotland, and so brought into a capacity of action.

The kirk party had now the command of him and the nation; but another party had a greater room in his heart, having been constant to his father, when the other had raised war against him. These divided under two heads, called resolutioners and protesters.

The parliament of England by this time grew awakened, foreseeing that this whole action was calculated to the perfect capacity of Scotland, imposing a king upon England, of which they were evinced by more than probable arguments; to obviate which they resolve to send a potent army under the command of general Cromwell (the lord Fairfax refusing that service, upon the influence of presbyterians, as was said), that Scotland might be rendered the seat of war, and so made less able to annoy England. This accordingly was done; an invasion made from England; Scotland put into arms to resist it, whereby they wearied and wasted the English army, and forced it (in a miserable condition) to retreat for England, had they not, at Dunbar, out of pure necessity, enforced an engagement to their own destruction. For the defeat then given to the Scotch army was as signal as any thing in the

whole war. The advantage of number and men fit for fight was very great; but that, which is most observable, is the quality of the persons: for preshiterie being the golden bal that day, I am credibly informed, that thousands lost their lives for it (after many meetings, debates, and appeales to God betwixt our English officers and them,) of as holy praying people as this island or the world affoordes.

The lord general Cromwell was a person of too great activity and sagacity to loose the advantage of such a victory, and therefore marcht his army to Edinburgh, and possest himselfe of that place, lay'd siege to the strong castle in it, and distrest it til it submitted, being so situated as not to be enter'd by onslaught, nor undermined, by reason of the rocke on which it is built. There he spent the winter, but was not idle, for in that time many strong places became subject to him: by this means the young king had opportunity to fall in with his beloved party caled the Resolutioners. His interest likewise wrought here in England, caried on by the presbyterian party; and in this quarrel, honest Mr. Love, who doubtless was a godly man, though indiscreet, lost his beade, and many of his brethren were indangered, being deteined prisoners, til general Cromwel came home and procured their release. But before that, his continuance in Scotland was a time of great action, wherein he so distressed the king, as he inforced him to march with all the force he could make for England; but being close pursued by the English horse, under the command of general Lambert (a prudent, valiant commander, and a man of gallant conduct), and resisted by force raysed in England, he was compelled to make a halt at Worcester city, til the lord general, with a body of the army, advanced thither, and after a short time totally defeated his army, himselfe escaping very hardly, and afterwarde (with great difficulty) conveyed himselfe beyond the seas. The idea of the stocke of honour, which general Cromwell came invested with to London, after this crowning victorie (super-added to what God had before cloathed him with, not onely by his atchievements in England, but those in Scotland, which I pretermitted, because, being grounded on thos barbarous massacres, the habitable world souded with the noise

of them) will in my silence present itself to your imagination. He had not long continued here, before it was strongly imprest upon him by thos, to whom he had no reason to be utterly incredulous, and strengthened by his own observation, that the persons, then called the parliament of the commonwealth of England, as from whom he had derived his authority, and by virtue whereof he had fought so many holy men in Scotland into their graves, were not such as were spirited to carry the good interest to an end, wherein he and they had jeopardied all that was of concern to them in this world; and I wish cordially, that there had not been too great a ground for thos allegations. The result of them after many debates betwixt the members then sitting, and the general, with some who joyned with him, was the dissolution of that parliament by a military force, since called by a softer word, interruption. *Great dissatisfaction sprung from this action, and such as is not yet forgotten amongst good men.* For let the reasons and end be never so good, upon which the general acted this part, yet, say they, 'twas high breach of trust in him, to overthrow that authority, in defence of which God had appeared, and made him so significant an instrument; yet *factum valet*, say others, who were not well satisfied neither; and now care is used to settle fluctuating Britain.

In order to which the lord general by his authority (which was but military) summons one hundred persons out of all parts of the nation (with competent indifferency and equality) to represent the nation, and invests them with legislative authority. They meet and accept it, assume the title of parliament, and sit in the house of commons, and enact sundry lawes; but in a short time made it appear to all considering and unprejudiced men, that they were *huic negotio impares*, non obstante their godlinesse; of which the more judicious of them being sensible, contrived the matter so as to dissolve themselves by an act of their owne, and resolve their authority, whence they first derived it, upon the general. It was not long before he was advised to assume the government of this nation in his single capacity, limited with such restrictions, as were drawne up in an instrument of government framed to that purpose. This he accepted of, and (being by

it with due ceremonie in Westminster Hall inaugurated), he assumed it accordingly. According to one of the articles in it, he summoned a house of commons, at Westminster, the September following, of which house I had the honour to be a member. The house consisting of many disobliged persons [some upon the king's account, and others upon a pretence of right to sit upon the former foundation, as not being legally, though forceably, dissolved; and others judging that the powers given by the instrument of government to the protector were too large; professing that though they were willing to trust him, yet they would not trust his successors with so large a jurisdiction] fel into high animosities, and after five months spent in framing another instrument instead of the former [which they sayd they could not swallow without chewing] they were by the protector dissolved.

This was ungratefull to English spirits, *who deify their representatives*; but the protector's parts and interest enabled him to stemme this tyde. Yet the weight of government incunbing too heavily upon him, before many years passed he summoned another parliament, and his experience guided him to concur with them in a new instrument to governe by. In it they would have changed his title, and made him king, and I thinke he had closed with them in it, not out of lust to that title [I am persuaded] but out of an apprehension, that it would have secured [in a better way] the nation's settlement: but the party, to whom the protector ever professed to owe himself [being the generallity of his standing friends] rose so high in opposition to it [by reason of the scandal, that thereby would fall upon his person and profession] as it diverted him, and occasioned him to take investitute in his government, though from them, yet under his former title of protector.

As in former cases, this found acceptance with many, but was dissatisfactory to a greater number.

The instrument of government made in this parliament, and to which the protector tooke his oath, was caled the humble petition and advice.

In it provision was made for another house of parliament, instead of the old lords; that this might be a screen or ballance

betwixt the protector and commons, as the former lordes had been betwixt the king and them.

Thes to consist of seventy persons, all at first to be nominated by the protector, and after as any one dyed, a new one to be nominated by him and his successors, and assented to by themselves, or without that consent not to sit : twenty of them was a quorum. It was noe smal taske for the protector to finde idoneous men for this place, because the future security of the honest interest, seemed [under God] to be layd up in them ; for by a mortal generation [if they were wel chosen at first] like foundationals in the gathering of a church, they would propagate their owne kinde, when the single person could not ; and the commons [who represented the nation] would not, having in them, for the most part, the spirit of thos they represent, which hath little affinity with or respect to the cause of God. And indeed, to speake freely, so barren was the island of persons of quality, spirited for such a serviee, as they were not to be found, according to that of the apostle, 1 Cor. i. 26. " Yee see your caling, not many wise, nor noble," &c. This forced him to make it up of men of meane ranke, and consequently of lesse interest, and upon tryal *too light for balance, too thin for a screen*, and upon the point ineffectual to answer the desigue, being made a scorn by the nobility and gentry, and generality of the people : the house of commons continually spurning at their power, and spending large debates in controverting their title, til at length the proteetor [finding the distempers which grew in his government, and the dangers of the publick peace thereby] dissolved the parliament, and so silenced that controversy for that time. And that was the last, that sat during his life, *he being compelled to wrestle with the difficulties of his place, so well as he could, without parliamentary assistance, and in it met with so great a burthen, as [I doubt not to say] it dranke up his spirits, of which his natural constitution yelded a vast stocke, and brought him to his grave*, his interment being the seed time of his glory, and England's calamity. Before I passe further, pardon mee in troubling you with the character of his person, which, by reason of my nearnesse to him, I had opportunity well to observe.

His body was wel compact and strong, his stature under 6 foote [I believe about two inches], his head so shaped, as you might see it a storehouse and shop both of a vast treasury of natural parts. *His temper exceeding fyery*, as I have known, *but the flame of it kept downe* for the most part, or soon allayed with thos moral indowments he had. He was naturally compassionate towards objects in distresse, even to an effeminate measure; though God had made him a heart, wherein was left little rounge for any fear, but what was due to himselfe, of which there was a large proportion, yet did he exceed in tendernesse towards sufferers. *A larger soul, I thinke, hath seldom dwelt in a house of clay than his was.* I do believe, if his story were impartially transmitted, and the unprejudiced world wel possest with it, she would adde him to her nine worthies, and make up that number a decemviri. He lived and dyed in comfortable communion with God, as judicious persons neer him wel observed. He was that Mordecai that sought the welfare of his people, and spake peace to his seed, yet were his temptations such, as it appeared frequently, that he, that bath grace enough for many men, may have too little for himselfe; the treasure he had being but in an earthen vessel, and that equally defiled with original sin, as any other man's nature is. He left successor in the protectorship his eldest son, a worthy person indeed, of an obliging nature and religious disposition, giving great respect to the best of persons, both ministers and others; and having to his lady a prudent, godly, practical Christian. His entrance into the government was with general satisfaction, having acceptation with all sorts of people, and addresses from them, importing so much. It was an amazing consideration to me [who, out of the experience I had of the spirits of people, did fear confusion would be famous Oliver's successor] to see my fears so confuted; though alas, the sin of England soon shewed, that they were not vaine fears. For in a short time, some achings in the army appeared tending to devest the protector of the power of it. This bred some jealousy and unkindnesse betwixt him and the officers of it; but it was allayed, and things looked fayre again. About this time writs were sent out to summons a parliament, which accordingly sat down in

March following. The power of the protector and that of the other house was instantly controverted in the house of commons, which house consisted of a tripartite interest, viz. the protector's, the commonwealth's [as it was so called by some, though groundlessly enough], and Charles the king of Scots; each party striving to carry an end their own design, syding one while with one, another whyle with another obstructed settlement, and acted nothing but what tended to leave religion and sobriety naked of protection. The vigilant army observed this, and disposed themselves to prevent this growing evil: in order to it, keep generall counsell, publish remonstrances, and make addresses. The parliament fearing the co-ordinacy [at least] of a military power with the civil, forbid the meetings of the army. The army resent this so ill, as by a violent impression they prevayle with the protector to dissolve the parliament. This he did *animo tam reluctanti*, that he could not conceal his repentance of it, but it breake out upon all occations. The army observing it reflected on him as a person true to the civill interest, and not fixed to them. And the officers keeping general counsell in a few days resolve to depose him, and restore the members of parliament dissolved by the first protector, in the year 53, to the exercise of their government again, in order [as they ridiculously stiled it] to the settling of a commonwealth. The nation resented this act of the army exceedingly ill; the godly party being generally much dissatisfyed with it, in regard the persons brought together, were for the most part disobliging to any thing of reason or sobriety; so that they enslaved the people to the lusts of a few men, as it soon appeared from this the officers of the army; and all in civil power derived their authority, and they seemed to have brought all under perfect subjection. But their deportment waxed too swelling for the army to bear long; for upon an insurrection rayzed in the west by sir George Booth a secluded member, in behalf of a free parliament, forces were sent against him under general Lambert, by whom sir George was soone reduced and made a prisoner. This so elevated the ruling men in parliament, as they began to increase the thickness of their fingers. The army

fearing they would not rest, till they had brought them to Rehoboam's scantling, make complaint to them by way of remonstrance, out of which egg a bird sprang, that made new division, or rather renewed the old betwixt them, till it came to another interruption. This put us into so great distemper, as one regiment marcht against another, some for the parliament, others against them, and drew up near Westminster Hall, even to push of pike, but God in mercy kept them from ingaging; so that noe blood was spilt. The house thus disturbed used it's interest to redintegrate its power; members meet in private cahals about it. They send into Scotland to general Monke, who was placed there by the old protector, commander in chiefe of the force of that nation. To him they complaine of the breach of trust by the army here, and by them of the violence offered to parliament. This Monke resents ill, and declares for the parliament against the army. The army in England meet in councel; they chuse the lord Fleetwood captain general of all the forces in England, Scotland and Ireland; send letters to Monke for accommodation; appoint a committee of safety for the publique peace, made up of many chief officers of the army, and others of the best qualety they could get; declare a resolution to call a new parliament; apoynt a committee to draw a platforme of government for the three nations. Whyle this was acting, the nations grew into a flame, greatly bating any government introduced by the sword; so the officers of the army, and committee of safety, and all begun to draw heavily, and in a few weeks by the revolt of the soldiery, which began first at Portsmouth, was seconded by the fleet, and generally falne in with by the private soldiers, their wheelles fell off, and left them on the ground. The members of parliament returned to sit, all the officers, that were looked upon as having a hand in their interruption, set aside, though to other things indemnified. Thus far was Jotham's parable in the case of Abimelech, and the men of Shechem realised in, this matter also. General Monke advances now to London, and is there honourably entertained: he is invited into London, courted and careeced there upon hope hee would introduce the king of Scots, whose iustesse grew all this whyle, and the generalety of the people exprest intentnesse upon it, abuse

the parliament, and affront (to violence) the speaker at his lodgings, and the members walking in the streets.

In this interim the house dismisses sir Henry Vane from sitting in it, as a person, that had not been constant to parliament priviledges: and Major Salaway, a person of great parts, and Sir Henry Vane's second in most things, with some others, who acted in the committee of safety. Yet were they greatly prest by declarations from the people, who though they were pleased with the dishonour put on Sir Henry Vane [he being unhappy in lying under the most catholique prejudice of any man I know] yet partly dissatisfyed with the seclution of the members of 48, and partly thirsting after their libertyes in free parliament, were restless and impetuous.

General Monke is now earnestly applied to by the greatest part of the citizens of London, and the members of parliament, who were secluded in the year 48, to restore them to the exercise of there trust. In that capacity, after some debate of some of the then sitting members concerning this matter, without further consent obtained from the then sitting members, and without their privity, they were by the general brought into the house. They sat not three weekes, before they by act of parliament dissolved themselves, and made provision for a succeeding parliament, which is to sit down the 25th day of the next month. In this time they made sundry acts; one about the ministry, to the advantage of preshiterie; another, in which they settled a militia distinct from that of the army, put into such commissioners hands, for the most part, as are for the king's interest. They likewise settled a council of state, consisting of one and thirty very prudent and sober men, and of good interest as to civil concernments.

But to draw to a period, and trouble you no longer with this discourse; the interest of religion lyes dreadfully on the dust; for the eminent professors of it having atchieved formerly great victories in the war, and thereby great power in the army, made use of it to make variety of changes in the government; and every of thos changes hazardous and pernicious, and dissatisfactory in one considerahle respect or other.

They were all charged upon the principles of the authours of them, who being congregational men, have not only made men

of that persuasion cheape, but rendered them odeous to the generality of the nation; and that the rather, because general Fleetwood, who married the protector's daughter, and the lord Desborow, who married his sister, were principal instruments [as is apprehended, though I thinke not truely of Fleetwood] in overthrowing the family, from which they had their preferment and so many signal kindnesses. It is not to be exprest, what reproach it brought upon profession of religion by this meanes, and what a foundation layd to persecute it out of England, if that party prevayles: for demonstration is made by experience, that professors were not more trouhlesome and factious in times of peace, before the wars of England began, and the great instruments of them, than they have been imperious, self seeking, trust breaking, and covenant violating, since they were invested with power. And whyther this scandal will goe, or what the effects of it will be, the Lord knows; but to be sure, as Solomon says, he that breaks a hedge, a serpent will hyte him; and this is fulfilled upon them, who have been the greatest hedge breakers, that I have known. And as there is a woe pronounced to the world by our Saviour, because of offences, so there is a redundant woe to them, by whom thos offences come.

I have cause to heleeve, that you have met with most of what I have here communicated to you, in a better dresse, from some other hand: if so, I entreat the pardon of your stomake for my crambe bis coctum. I also entreat your advise by the next oppertunity, concerning friendes here, what incouragement persons may have, if tymes press them, to transport their familyes into New England, with some general directions of doeing to the best advantage.

I doe promise myselfe this fruit of my writing, that as it may renue our intercourse, and kindle the former coales of love, soe it will provoke you with greatest fervency, to lay the sad state of our affaires here before the Lord, whose name is greatly ingaged in them; for the rage of the enemy is swelled to an intollerable height, and his mouth set against the heavens. God hath great cause now to feare the enemy and the avenger. And this is our last refuge, for we have forfited all to the utmost. I pray present me to my cousin your wife, under the

character of a person ready, though unable to serve her. Accept of the like tender from, Sir,

Your real servant, and unworthy kinsman,
JO. MAIDSTON.

Westminster, March 24. 1659.

If you shall give yourselfe the trouble at any time of honoring mee with a letter, you may please to direct it to Pondhouse, at Boxted in Essex, where my father lived; it is three miles from Colchester.

These for his honourable friend and kinsman, John Winthorpe, Esq. ; governour of the collonie of Connecticut in New England.

B.

SPECIMENS OF THE COURT CIRCULAR IN CROMWELL'S PROTECTORATE.

" Nov. 11. — This day the most illustrious lady, the lady Frances Cromwell, youngest daughter of his highness the lord protector, was married to the most noble gentleman, Mr. Robert Rich, son of the lord Rich, grandchild of the earl of Warwick, and of the countess dowager of Devonshire, in the presence of their highnesses and of his grandfather and father, and the said countess, with many other persons of high honor and quality. The solemnities of the happy nuptials were continued and ended with much honour." — *Merc. Pol.*, Nov. 5. to 12. 1657.

" Nov. 19. — Yesterday afternoon, his highness went to Hampton Court, and this day the most illustrious lady, the lady Mary Cromwell, third daughter of his highness the lord protector, was there married to the most noble lord the lord Falconbridge, in the presence of their highnesses, and many noble persons. Friday, 20. — Their highnesses, with the said lord and lady, returned from Hampton Court." — *Merc. Pol.*, Nov. 19. to 26. 1657.

C.

SOME EXTRACTS FROM A DESCRIPTION OF CROMWELL'S LORDS.

RICHARD CROMWELL, eldest son of the protector (so called) a person of great worth and merit, and well skilled in hawking, hunting, horse-racing, with other sports and pastimes; one whose undertakings, hazards, and services for the cause cannot well be numbered or set forth, unless the drinking of king Charles's, or, as is so commonly spoken, *his father's landlord's health*; whose abilities in praying and preaching, and love to the sectaries, being much like his cousin Dick Ingoldshy's, and, being so very likely to be his father's successor, and to inherit his noble virtues, in being the light of the eyes, and breath of the nostrils of the old heathenish popish laws and customs of the nation, especially among the learned, the university of Oxford have therefore thought fit, he being also no very good scholar, to chuse him their chancellor.

Henry Lawrence, a gentleman of a courtly breed, and a good trencher-man; who, when the bishops ruffled in their pride and tyranny, went over to Holland, afterwards came back, and became a member of the long parliament; fell off at the beheading the late king, and change of the government, for which the protector, then lieutenant-general, with great zeal declared, '*That a neutral spirit was more to be abhorred than a cavalier spirit, and that such men as he were not fit to be used in such a day as that, when God was cutting down Kingship root and branch;*' yet came in play again, upon design, in the little parliament, and contributed much to the dissolving of them, as also setting up the protector, and settling the instrument of government and a single person, affirming, '*That other foundation could no man lay.*' For which worthy services, and as a snare or bait to win over, or at least quiet the baptised people, himself being under that ordinance, he was made and continued president of the protector's council, where he hath signed many an arbitrary and illegal warrant for the carrying of honest faithful men to prisons and exile without cause, unless their not anostatising with them from just

and honest principles. His merits are great and many, being every way thorough-paced, and a great adorer of Kingship; so as he deserveth, no doubt, and is every way fit, to be taken out of the parliament, to have the third place of honour, and negative voice in the other house over the people of these lands.

Colonel Desborough, a gentleman or yeoman of about sixty or seventy pounds, per annum, at the beginning of the wars; who being allied to the protector by marriage of his sister, he cast away his spade and took a sword, and rose with him in the wars, and in like manner, upon the principles of justice and freedom, advanced his interest very much; if he were not of the long parliament, he was of the little one, which he helped to break. Being grown considerable, he cast away the principles by which he rose, and took on principles of violence and tyranny, and helped to set up the protector, for which he was made one of his council, and one of the generals at sea, and hath a princely command at land, being major-general of divers counties in the west, as also one of the lords of the Cinque Ports.

Lord Viscount Lisle, eldest son of the earl of Leicester, was of the long parliament to the last, and at the change of government, and making laws of treason against a single person's rule, and, no question, concurred with the rest therein; he was also of the little parliament, and of all the parliaments since; was all along of the protector's council, and was never to seek; who having learned so much by changing with every change, and keeping still, like his father-in-law, the earl of Salisbury, and Peter Sterry, on that side which bath proved trump, nothing need farther be said of his fitness, being such a man of principles, to be taken out of the parliament, to have a settled negative voice in the other house, over all the good people of these lands, he being a lord of the old stamp already, and, in time, so likely to become a peer.

Sir Gilbert Pickering, knight of the old stamp, and of a considerable revenue in Northamptonshire, one of the long parliament, and a great stickler in the change of the government from Kingly, to that of a commonwealth; helped to make those laws of treason against Kingship, hath also changed with all changes that have been since; he was one of the little

parliament, and helped to break it, as also of all the parliaments since; is one of the protector's council; and, as if he had been pinned to his sleeve, was never to seek; is become high steward of Westminster; and, being so finical, spruce, and like an old courtier, is made lord chamberlain of the protector's household or court; so that he may well be counted fit and worthy to be taken out of the house, to have a negative voice in the other house, though he helped to destroy it in the King and Lords. There are more besides him, that make themselves transgressors, by building again the things which they once destroyed.

Walter Strickland, sometime agent, or ambassador to the Dutch in the Low-Countries, from the long parliament, and a good friend of theirs; at length became a member of that parliament; was also of the little parliament, which he helped to break; was of the parliament since, and is now of the protector's council; he is one that can serve a commonwealth, and also a prince, so he may serve himself and his own ends by it; who, having so greatly profited by attending the Hogan Mogans, and become so expert in the ceremony postures, and thereby so apt like an ape, with his brother sir Gilbert, and the president, to imitate or act the part of an old courtier in the new court, was made captain-general of the protector's magpye, or gray-coated footguard in Whitehall, as the earl of Holland formerly to the king; who, heing every way of such worth and merits, no question can be made, or exception had against his fitness to be taken out of the parliament to exercise a negative voice in the other house over the people of this commonwealth.

Sir Charles Ousely, a gentleman who came something late into play on this side, being converted from a cavalier in a good hour. He became one of the little parliament, which he helped to break, and to set the protector on the throne; for which worthy service, he was, as he well deserved, taken in to be one of his council; was also of the parliaments since; a man of constancy and certainty in his principles, much like the wind; and, although he hath done nothing for the cause wherehy to merit, yet is he counted of that worth, as to be every way fit to be taken out of the parliament, to have a

negative voice in the other house, over such as have done most, and merited highest in the cause, the protector and his fellow negative men excepted, and over all the commonwealth besides.

Mr. Rouse, one of the long parliament, and by them made provost or master of Eaton college; he abode in that parliament, and helped to change the government into a commonwealth, and to destroy the negative voice in the King and Lords; was also of the little parliament, and their speaker; who, when the good things came to be done which were formerly declared, and for not doing of which the old parliament was pretendedly dissolved, being an old bottle, and so not fit to bear that new wine, without putting it to the question, left the chair, and went with his fellow old Bottles to Whitehall, to surrender their power to the general; which he, as speaker, and they, by signing a parchment or paper, pretended to do. The colourable foundation for this apostacy, upon the monarchical foundation being thus laid, and the general himself, as protector, seated thereon, he became one of his council, good old man, and well he deserved it, for he ventured hard; he was also of the parliaments since, and, being an aged venerable man, all exceptions set aside, may be counted worthy to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house, over all that shall question him for what he hath done, and over all the people of these lands besides, though he would not suffer it in the King and Lords.

Colonel Sydenham, a gentleman or not very much per annum at the beginning of the wars, was made governor of Malcomb Regis, in the west; became one of the long parliament, and hath augmented his revenue to some purpose; he helped, no question, to change the government, and make those laws of treason against Kingship; was also of the little parliament, and of those that were since; one also of the protector's council, hath a princely command in the Isle of Wight, is one of the commissioners of the treasury; by all which he is grown very great and considerable.

Colonel Mountague, a gentleman of Huntingdonshire, of a fair estate, a colonel formerly in the association army, under the earl of Manchester, where he, for some time, appeared

whilst colonel Pickering lived, to be a sectary, and for laymen's preaching, as also a lover of the rights and freedoms of the people, rather than of the principle he now acts by; but, that bonest colonel dying, some other things also coming between, he became of another mind; he gave off being a soldier about the time of the new model, it is likely upon the same account with colonel Russel; did not greatly approve of heading the king, or change of the government, or the army's last march into Scotland, as the protector, then general, may witness; yet, after the war was ended at Worcester, and the old parliament dissolved, he was taken in, though no change appearing from what he was before, to be of the little parliament, which he helped to break, and to set up monarchy a-new in the protector, which he designedly was called to do; for which worthy service he was made one of the council, a commissioner of the treasury, and one of the generals at sea; he was of the parliaments since; all which considered, none need question his fitness to be a lord, and to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house, not only over the treasury and seamen, but all the good people of these lands besides.

Commissioner Lisle, sometime a counsellor in the Temple; one of the long parliament, where he improved his interest to purpose, and bought state lands good cheap; afterwards became a commissioner of the great seal, and helped in parliament to change the government from kingly to parliamentary, or of a commonwealth; changed again to kingly, or of a single person; and did swear the protector at his first installing chief magistrate, to the hazard of his neck, contrary to four acts of parliament, which he helped to make, with others, that make it treason so to do. He hath lately retired for sanctuary into Mr. Rowe's church, and is still commissioner of the seal; and being so very considerable in worth and merit, is also fit to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house over the good people, and all such who shall any way question him; he is since made president of the high court, so called, of justice.

*
Treason never prospers : what's the reason ?
For, when it prospers, none dare call it treason.

Chief justice Glyn, sometime a counsellor at law, and steward of the court at Westminster, formerly one of the long parliament, and that helped to hait the earl of Strafford, and bring him to the block; was recorder of London, and one of the eleven members impeached by the army of treason, and by that parliament committed to the Tower; the protector, through apostacy, assuming the government, took him up and made him a judge; and finding him so fit for his turn, did also make him chief justice of England; so that, of a little man, he is grown up into great hulk and interest, and of complying principles to the life; who, being so very useful to advance and uphold the protector's great negative voice, is thereby questionless, in his sense, fit to be taken out of the house, and to have a negative voice himself in the other house, not only over the people, but over the law he is to be chief judge of, and in a capacity to hinder *that no good law, for the future, be made for the ease of the people, or to hurt of the lawyers' trade.*

Bulstrode Whitlock, formerly a counsellor at law, one of the long parliament, profited there, and advanced his interest very greatly; became one of the commissioners of the great seal, one that helped to change the government, and make laws against a single person's rule. In the time of the little parliament, he went ambhassador to Sweden in great state; that parliament being dissolved, he agitated there for the protector, then came over; and, when some alteration and pretended reformation was made in the chancery, he stood off from being any longer a commissioner of the seal, and became one of the supervisors of the treasury at one thousand pounds per annum salary: he is one who is guided more by policy than by conscience, and, being, on that account, the more fit for the protector's service, there is no question to he made of his worth and merit to he taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house over the people there, though he helped to put it down in the King and Lords.

Mr. Claypole, son of Mr. Claypole in Northamptonshire, now lord Claypole. He long since married the protector's daughter; a person, whose qualifications not answering those honest principles, formerly so pretended to, of putting none

but godly men into places of trust, was a long time kept out; but, since the apostasy from those principles, as also the practice brake in, and his father-in-law (the head thereof) came to be protector, he was then judged good enough for that dispensation, and so taken in to be master of his horse, as duke Hamilton to the King. Much need not be said of him; his relation, as son-in-law to the protector, is sufficient to bespeak him every way fit to be taken out of the house, and made a lord; and, having so long time had a negative voice over his wife, Spring-Garden, the ducks, deer, horses, and asses in James's Park, is the better skilled how to exercise it again in the other house, over the good people of these nations, without any gainsaying or dispute.

Colonel Pride, then sir Thomas, now lord Pride, sometime an honest brewer in London, went out a captain upon the account of the cause, fought on, and in time became a colonel; did good service in England and Scotland, for which he was well rewarded by the parliament; with cheap adventures of his soldiers and others, he bought good lands at easy rates; gave the long parliament a purge, fought against the king and his negative voice, and was against the negative voice of his brethren, the lords spiritual and temporal, being unwilling to have any in the land; but hath now changed his mind and principles with the times, and will fight for a negative voice in the protector, and also have one himself, and be a lord, for he is a knight of the new order already, and grown very bulky and considerable. It is hard to say how the people will like it. However, his worth and merits, rightly measured, will, no question, render him fit to be taken out of the house to be one of the other house, and to have a negative voice, not only over the bears, but all the people of these lands, though he did formerly so oppose and fight against it; and the noble lawyers will be glad of his company and friendship, for that there is now no fear of his hanging up their gowns by the Scottish colours in Westminster-hall, as he formerly so greatly boasted and threatened to do.

Colonel Hewson, then sir John, now lord Hewson, sometime an honest shoe-maker, or cobbler in London, went out a captain upon the account of the cause, was very zealous,

fought on stoutly, and in time became a colonel; did good service, both in England and Ireland; was made governor of Dublin, became one of the little parliament, and of all the parliaments since; a knight also of the new stamp. The world being so well amended with him, and the sole so well stitched to the upper leather, having gotten so considerable an interest and means, he may well be counted fit to be taken out of the house to be a lord, and to have a negative voice in the other house, over all of the gentle craft, and cordwainers company in London, if they please. But, though he be so considerable, and of such merit in the protector's, as also in his own esteem, not only to be a knight, but also a lord, yet it will hardly pass for current with the good people of these lands, if being so far beyond the last. Neither will they think him fit (saving the protector's pleasure) to have a negative voice over them, though he formerly fought so stiffly against it in the king and lords, in order to set them free.

Colonel Barkstead, then sir John, now lord Barkstead, sometime a goldsmith in the Strand of no great rank, went out a captain to Windsor Castle, was sometime governor of Reading, got at length to be a colonel, then made lieutenant of the Tower by the old parliament. The protector (so called) finding him fit for his turn, continued him there, and also made him major-general of Middlesex, in the decimating business, and assistant to major-general Skippon, in London. He is one to the life to fulfil the protector's desires, whether right or wrong, for he will dispute no commands, nor make the least demur, but, in an officious way, will rather do more than his share. His principles for all arbitrary things whatsoever being so very thorough, let friends or foes come to his den, they come not amiss, so he gets by it; yea, rather than fail, he will send out his armed men to break open other men's houses, and seize their persons, and bring them to his jail, and then at his pleasure turn them out. He hath erected a principality in the Tower, and made laws of his own, and executes them, in a martial way, over all comers; so that he hath great command, and makes men know his power. He was of the latter parliaments; is one of the commissioners,

like the bishop's pander's in the King's days, for suppressing truth in the printing presses, an oppression once the army so greatly complained of; is, for sanctuary, gotten in to be a member of Mr. Griffith's church; is also knighted after the new order, and, the better to carry on the protector's interest among the ear-bored slavish citizens, is lately become an alderman; so that he hath advanced his interest and revenue to purpose. His titles and capacities, emblazoned, will sufficiently argue his worth and merits, and speak him out fully to be a man of the times, and every way deserving to be yet greater, and, Haman-like, to be set bigger. All which considered, it would seem a wrong not to have taken him out of the house, and made him a lord of the other house.

Colonel Ingoldsby, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, allied to the protector; he betook himself to the wars on the right side, as it happened, and in time became a colonel. A gentleman of courage and valour, but not very famous for any great exploits, unless for beating the honest inn-keeper of Aylesbury in Whitehall, for which the protector committed him to the Tower, but was soon released. No great friend of the Sectaries (so called) or the cause of freedom then fought for, as several of his then and now officers and soldiers can witness. And, although it be well known, and commonly reported, that he can neither pray nor preach, yet, complying so kindly with new court, and being in his principles of Kingship, as also a colonel of horse, and the protector's kinsman, he may well be reckoned fit to be taken out of the house, and made a lord.

Colonel Whaly, formerly a woollen draper, a petty merchant, in London; whose shop being out of sorts, and his cash empty, not having wherewithal to satisfy his creditors, he fled into Scotland for refuge, till the wars began; then took on him to be a soldier, whereby he hath profited greatly: was no great zealot for the cause, but, happening on the right side, he kept there, and at length was made commissary-general of the horse. He was of these latter parliaments, and, being so very useful and complying to promote the protector's designs, was made major-general of two or three companies. He is for a king, or protector, or what you will, so it be liked

at court; is, with his little brother Glyn, grown a great man, and very considerable, and wiser, as the protector saith, than major-general Lambert; who having, with his fellow lords, Claypole and Howard, so excellent a spirit of government over his wife and family, being also a member of Thomas Goodwin's church, no question need be made of his merit of being every way fit to be a lord, and to be taken out of the house, to have a negative voice in the other house over the people, for that he 'never, as he saith, fought against any such thing, as a negative voice.'

Colonel Goff, now lord Goff that would be, some time colonel Vaughan's brother's apprentice (a salter in London) whose time being near or newly out, betook himself to be a soldier, instead of setting up his trade; went out a quartermaster of foot, and continued in the wars till he forgot what he fought for; in time became a colonel, and, in the outward appearance, very zealous and frequent in praying, preaching, and pressing for righteousness and freedom, and highly esteemed in the army, on that account, when honesty was in fashion; yet, having, at the same time, like his general, an evil tincture of that spirit, that loved and sought after the favour and praise of man, more than that of God (as, by woeful experience in both of them, hath since appeared) he could not further believe, or persevere, upon that account, but by degrees fell off. And this was he, who, with colonel White, brought musqueteers, and turned the honest members, left behind in the little parliament, out of the house. Complying thus kindly with the protector's designs and interest, he was made major-general of Hampshire and Sussex; was of the late parliament; hath advanced his interest greatly, and is in so great esteem and favour at court, that he is judged the only fit man to have major-general Lambert's place and command, as major-general of the army; and, having so far advanced, is in a fair way to the protectorship hereafter, if he be not served as Lambert was. He, being so very considerable a person, and of such great worth, there is no question of his deserts and fitness to be taken out of the house to be a lord, and to have a negative voice in the other house; the rather, for that he "never in all his life, as he saith, fought against any such

thing, as a single person, or a negative voice, hut only to put down Charles, and set up Oliver," and hath his end.

Colonel Berry. His original was from the iron-works, as a clerk, or overseer; betook himself to the wars, on the parliament side; profited greatly in his undertaking, and advanced his interest very far; who, though he wore not the jester's coat, yet, heing so ready to act his part, and please his general in time he became a colonel of horse in the army, afterwards a major-general of divers counties, a command fit for a prince; wherein he might learn to lord it in an arbitrary way, before-hand, at his pleasure.

Colonel Cooper, some time a shopkeeper, or salter, in Southwark, a member of Thomas Goodwin's church, one formerly of very high principles for common justice and freedom, like his brother Tichhorn. The army, then in Scotland, sending into England for faithful, praying men, to make officers of, the honest people in the Borough recommended him to the general, in order to have a command; who accordingly went down, hut left his principles behind him, and espoused others; was made colonel at the first dash, and, though he began late, yet hath so well improved his interest, that he hath already gotten as many hundreds per annum as he had hundred pounds, when he left his trade. He hath a regiment of foot in Scotland, and another in Ireland, where he is major-general of the North, in Venables's room, and governor of Carrickfergus, so as he is in a very hopeful way to be a great man indeed.

Alderman Pack, then sir Christopher, now lord Pack. His rise formerly was by dealing in cloth; near the beginning of the long parliament, was made an alderman; was then very discreet, and meddled little, more like a neuter, or close malignant, than a zealot for the cause; was a commissioner of the customs, also sheriff and lord mayor of London, next after alderman Viner. The protector taking on him the government, the sunshine of the new court pleased him, and brought him in full compliance. He was one of the last parliament, and zealous to re-establish kingship in the person of the protector, and judged the only meet man to bring the petition into the house, praying him to accept of and take it upon him;

which, though he then refused, yet, as is reported, hath since repented his then refusal.

Alderman Tichborn, then sir Robert, knight of the new stamp, now lord Tichborn. At the beginning of the long parliament, when a great spirit was stirring for liberty and justice, many worthy petitions and complaints were made against patentees, the bishops, and the earl of Strafford. He being the son of a citizen, and young, fell in and espoused the good cause and principles then on foot, and thereby became very popular, and was greatly cried up by the good people of the city, &c. His rise was first in the military way, where he soon became a colonel; and, by the parliament, made lieutenant of the Tower of London; and, though he was a colonel, yet never went out to fight, but became an alderman very timely, and then soon began to cool and lose his former zeal and principles, and left off preaching, as his pastor, Mr. Lockyer, did the church, to his brother George Cockain. He was afterwards sheriff and lord mayor in his turn; was also of the committees for the sale of state lands, whereby he advanced his interest and revenue considerably; out of zeal to the public, he offered the parliament to serve them freely, as a commissioner of the customs, whereby he supplanted another, and planted himself in his room, and then, with the rest of his brethren, petitioned the committee of the navy for a salary, and had it; notwithstanding he was so well rewarded for his pains, after he had pretended to serve them for nothing, yet, with his brother, colonel Harvy, and captain Langbam, came off bluely in the end. He was of the little parliament, and helped to dissolve it; one of the late parliament also. He hath, by degrees, sadly lost his principles, and forgotten the good old cause, and espoused and taken up another; being so very officious for the new court interest, and such a stickler for them, he is become a great favourite; it is not hard to read his change, it being in so great letters. All things considered, he is, no question, fit to be called lord Tichborn.

Sir Francis Russel, knight baronet of the old stamp, a gentleman of Cambridgeshire, of a considerable revenue. In the beginning of the wars was first for the king, then for the parliament, and a colonel of foot under the earl of Manchester;

a man, like William Sedgwick, high flown, but not serious or substantial in his principles; he continued in his command till the new model, then took offence, and fell off or laid aside by them; no great zealot in the cause, therefore not judged bonest, serious, or wise enough to be of the little parliament, yet was of these latter parliaments: is also chamberlain of Cbester, at about 500*l.* per annum. He married his eldest daughter to Henry Cromwell, second son of the protector, then colonel of horse, now lord deputy, so called, of Ireland; another to colonel Reynolds, a new knight, and general of the English army in France, under cardinal Mazarine, since, with colonel White and others, cast away coming from Mardike. There is no question but his principles are for kingship and the new court, being so greatly concerned therein; wherefore it were great pity if he should not also be taken out of the house to be a lord of the other house, his son-in-law heing so great a lord, and have a negative voice over Cambridgeshire, and all the people of these lands besides.

Sir William Strickland, knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of Yorkshire, and brother to Walter Strickland; was of the parliament a long time, but hath now, it seems, forgotten the cause of fighting with, and cutting off the late king's head, and suppressing the lords, their bouse, and negative voice. He was of these latter parliaments, and of good compliance, no question, with the new court, and settling the protector a-new in all those things for which the king was cut off; wherefore he is fit, no doubt, to be taken out of the house and made a lord; the rather, for that his younger brother, Walter, is so great a lord, and by whom, in all likelihood, he will be steered to use his negative voice in the other house over Yorkshire, and the people of these lands, to the interest of the court.

Sir Richard Onslqe, knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of Surrey, of good parts, and a considerable revenue; he was of the long parliament, and with much ado, through his policy, steered his course between the two rocks of king and parliament, and weathered some sore storms. Was not his man taken in his company, by the guard of Southwark, with commissions of array in his pocket from the king, and scurrilous songs against the roundheads? Yet, by his interest, rode

it out till colonel Pride came with his purge, then suffered loss, and came no more in play till about Worcester fight; when, by the help of some friends in parliament, he was empowered to raise, and lead as colonel, a regiment of Surrey men against the Scots and their king, but came too late to fight, it being over. Being popular in Surrey, he was of the latter parliaments, is fully for kingship, and was never otherwise, and stickled much among the seventy kinglings to that end; and, seeing he cannot have young Charles, old Oliver will serve his turn, so he have one; so that he is very fit to be lord Onsloe, and to be taken out of the house, to have a negative voice in the other house over Surrey, if they please, and all the people of these lands besides, whether they please or not.

Mr. John Fiennes, son of the lord Say, and brother to commissioner Fiennes; brought in, it is likely, for one upon his score, is, in a kind, such a one as they call a sectary, but no great stickler; therefore, not being redeemed from the fear and favour of man, will, it is probable, follow his brother, who is, as it is thought, *much steered by old subtlety, his father, that lies in his den, as Thurlow by his Mr. St. John*, and will say No with the rest, when any thing opposes the interest of the new court, their power, and greatness; and may therefore pass for one to be a lord.

Sir John Hubbard, knight baronet of the old stamp, a gentleman of Norfolk, of a considerable estate, part whereof came lately to him by the death of a kinsman; he was of these latter parliaments, but not of the former; had meddled very little, if at all, in throwing down Kingship, but hath stickled very much in helping to re-establish and build it up again; and a great stickler among the late kinglings, who petitioned the protector to be king. His principles being so right for kingship and tyranny, he is in great favour at court, as well as Dick Ingoldsby, and, no question, deserves to be a lord.

Sir Thomas Honywood, knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of Essex, of a considerable revenue; he was a committee-man in the time of the long parliament, and also a military man, and led, as colonel, a regiment of Essex men to the fight at Worcester; came in good time, and fought well against kingship and tyranny in the house of the Stewarts; was of the last

parliament. He is not so wise as Solomon, or so substantial and thorough in his principles for righteousness and freedom, as Joh, chap. xxix. but rather soft in his spirit, and too easy, like a nose of wax, to be turned on that side where the greatest strength is. Being therefore of so hopeful principles for the new court interest, and so likely to comply with their will and pleasure, no doubt need be made of his fitness to be a lord.

Mr. Hampden, now lord Hampden, a young gentleman of Buckinghamshire, son of the late colonel Hampden, that noble patriot and defender of the rights and liberties of the English nation; of famous memory, never to be forgotten, for withstanding the king in the case of ship-money; being also one of the five impeached members, which the said king endeavoured to have pulled out of the parliament, whereupon followed such feud, war, and shedding of blood. This young gentleman, Mr. Hampden, was the last of sixty-two, which were added singly by the protector, after the choice of sixty together; it is very likely, that colonel Ingoldshy, or some other friend at court, got a cardinal's hat for him, thereby to settle and secure him to the interest of the new court, and wholly take him off from the thoughts of ever following his father's steps, or inheriting his noble virtues; as likewise, that the honest men in Buckinghamshire, and all others that are lovers of freedom and justice, that cleaved so cordially to, and went so cheerfully along with his father in the beginning of the late war, might be out of all hopes of him, and give him over for lost to the good old cause, and inheriting his father's noble spirit and principles, though he doth his lands. He was of the latter parliament, and found right, saving in the design upon which he was made a lord after the rest, and the protector's pleasure. It is very hard to say how fit he is to be a lord, and how well a negative voice over the good people of this land, and his father's friends in particular, will become the son of such a father, and how well the aforesaid good people, now called sectaries, will like of it; but, seeing it as it is, let him pass for one as fit to be taken out of the house, with the rest, to have a negative voice, and let him exercise it in the other house, over the good people for a season.

D.

PROCESSION, WITH CEREMONY OF THE INVESTITURE AND INSTALLATION OF HIS HIGHNESS OLIVER CROMWELL, AS BY THE PARLIAMENT APPOINTED TO BE PERFORMED IN WESTMINSTER-HALL, ON JUNE 26, 1657, WRITTEN BY ME EDMUND PRESTWICK, OF THE CITY OF LONDON, AN EYE AND EAR-WITNESS TO ALL THAT PASSED ON THIS GLORIOUS OCCASION. NOW SET FORTH BY ME JOHN PRESTWICK, ESQ.

IN Westminster-hall, at the upper or south end thereof, there was built an ascent, whereon was placed the chair of Scotland, brought for this purpose out of Westminster-abbey, and here set under a prince-like canopy of state. Before his highness, and below him, was set a table covered with pink-coloured velvet of Genoa, fringed with fringe of gold. On this table, besides the Bible, sword and sceptre of the commonwealth, were pens, ink, paper, sand, wax, &c. &c.

Before this table, on a chair, sat sir Thomas Widdrington, the speaker to his highness and the parliament. At some distance were seats built scaffold-wise, like a *theatrum*, where, on both sides, sat the members of his highness's parliament, and below were places for the aldermen of London, and the like.

After all things were thus ordered, the protector came forth out of the council-room adjoining to the lords' house, and in the order following proceeded into the hall: —

First went his Highness's gentlemen, two and two.

A Herald.

Aldermen of London, two and two.

A Herald.

Edmund Prideux, his Highness's Attorney-General.

The Judges following of both Benches.

John Glyn, Lord Chief-Justice.

Peter Warburton and Richard Nudigate.

*Justices of the Upper Bench.

Barons of his Highness's Exchequer.

Robert Nicholas.

John Parker.

Roger Hill.

Norroy King at Arms.

Commissioners of the Treasury.

Commissioners of the Great Seal of the Commonwealth, and
their officers, *viz.*

Commissioner Nathaniel Lord Fiennes, carrying the Great
Seal.

Commissioner John Lord Lisle.

William Lenthal, Master of the Rolls.

Officers attending, *viz.*

Henry Middleton, Serjeant at Arms.

Mr. Brown and Mr. Dove.

Garter King at Arms.

Before the Protector came, first,

Robert Earl of Warwick, with the Sword of the Common-
wealth, bare-headed, on the right-hand ; and on
the left, the Lord Mayor, Tichborn, carrying the
sword of the city of London, bare-headed.

His Highness, OLIVER CROMWELL,
richly dressed, habited with a costly mantle of estate, lined
with ermines, and girt with a sword of great value ; his
Highness's train supported by three Generals, bare-
headed, and armed with drawn swords.

Close to his highness followed the members or lords of the
other house, *i. e.* house of lords, in order, two and two.

In like manner, in order, two and two, were the members
of the parliament, as knights of the counties, citizens of the
cities, and burgesses of the boroughs and towns, and barons of
the cinque ports, of the commonwealth of England, Scotland,
and Ireland ; of which first came those of England, the county
of Middlesex, and the northern counties leading the way ; as
Yorkshire, Lancashire, Northumberland, and so in like manner.

Besides these, were many persons of distinction, and no small
number of Scotch and Irish nobles.

INSTALLATION OF HIS HIGHNESS.

The protector, with loud acclamation, was enthroned, being seated in the chair of state ; on the left hand thereof stood the lord mayor, Tichhorn, and the Dutch emhassador ; the French emhassador, and Robert earl of Warwick, on the right.

Behind the protector stood his son, lord Richard Cromwell ; Charles lord Fleetwood, lieutenant-general of the army ; John lord Cleypole, master of the horse to his highness ; and the privy council, of whom, as of the nobility, were the earl of Manchester, lord Wharton, and lord Mulgrave, the rest being very much their inferiors. Upon a lower descent stood the lord viscount Lisle, lords Montague and Whitlock, with drawn swords.

The heralds, in the name of his highness and the commonwealth, commanding silence ; then the speaker (sir Thomas Widdrington), in the name of the parliament, presented to his highness, Oliver Cromwell, a rich and costly robe of purple velvet, lined with ermines ; a Bible, ornamented with bosses and clasps, richly gilt ; a rich and costly sword ; and a sceptre of massy gold. At the delivery of these things, the speaker made a short comment upon them, and on the ceremonies thereof, which he addressed to the protector, dividing them into four parts, *viz.*

“ First, the robe of purple ; this is an emblem of magistracy, and imports righteousness and justice. When you have put on this vestment, I may say you are a gown-man. This robe is of a mixed colour, to show the mixture of justice and mercy. Indeed, a magistrate must have two hands, *plectentem et amplectentem*, to cherish and to punish.

“ Second, the Bible, is a book that contains the Holy Scriptures, in which you have the happiness to be well versed. This book of Life consists of two Testaments, the Old and New. The first shows *Christum velatum* ; the second, *Christum revelatum* ; Christ veiled and revealed. It is a book of books, and doth contain both precepts and examples for good government

“ Third, here is a sceptre, not unlike a staff, for you to be a staff to the weak and poor. It is of ancient use in this kind.

It is said in Scripture, that ‘the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shilo come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be’: !! It was of the like use in other kingdoms. Homer, the Greek poet, calls kings and princes sceptre-bearers.

“Fourth, the last is a sword, not a military, but a civil sword. It is a sword rather of defence than offence; not to defend yourself only, but your people also. If I might presume to fix a motto upon this sword, as the valiant lord Talbot had upon his, it should be thus, *Ego sum Domini Protectoris, ad protegendum Populum meum*; I am the lord protector’s, to protect my people.”

This comment or speech being ended, the speaker, sir Thomas Widdrington, took the Bible, and gave the protector his oath.

After the administration of the oath, Mr. Manton, who for this purpose was appointed, made and delivered a prayer, wherein he recommended the protector, parliament, council, the forces by land and sea, government and people of the three nations, to the protection of God. Which being ended, the heralds, by loud sound of trumpet, proclaimed his highness, Oliver Cromwell, protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging; commanding and requiring all persons to yield him due obedience. Then did the trumpets again sound, and the people with loud shouts cried, “Long live his highness! long live his highness! long live his highness! huzza, huzza, huzza!”

Silence being commanded, and his highness being respectfully saluted; he rose from the chair of estate, and descending, proceeded as follows, himself leading the way.

The Protector;

His train carried up by the Lord Sherard, Warwick’s nephew,
and Lord Roberts, his eldest son.

After followed those who had before marched in the first of
the procession; the Protector and these returning in the
same posture to the great gate or entrance of the
Hall, without which was a state coach to
receive his Highness.

The protector being now seated in his coach; with him sitting opposite at one end, was Robert earl of Warwick, lord

Richard Cromwell, his son, and Bulstrode lord Whitlock, in one, and Philip lord viscount Lisle, and lord Montague, in the other boot, with swords drawn; and the lord Cleypole, master of the horse, led a horse of honour in rich caparisons to Whitehall. The members, two and two, proceeded to the parliament-house, where they prorogued their sitting to the twentieth of January.

At night were great proclaimings of joy and gladness, both in London, Westminster, and the surrounding towns, villages, and hamlets. On this occasion, for his highness and the parliament, were ensigns armorial of their power: which signs or tokens of honour were commanded to be engraven and cut on seals for the sealing and stamping all public writings.

The great seal of the commonwealth was a large circle, having thereon the protector bare-headed, mounted on mare-hack, attired in a short coat or jacket of mail, over which was a military sash, placed over his right shoulder and under his left arm, tied behind; pendent to his left side, a large and broad sword, his right hand grasping the head of a truncheon, which he holds before him, one end resting on the pommel of the saddle, his left hand holding the bridle. Behind, on the space on the sinister side, and near the top, was a civic shield, with four quarters; the first and fourth, with the cross of St. George for England; 2d, the saltier or cross of St. Andrew for Scotland; and third, the harp of king David for Ireland. On the margin of this side the seal, these words, *Olivarius. Dei. Gra. Reip. Angliæ. Scotiæ. et Hiberniæ. &c. Protector.* On the other side of the broad seal, the like arms as that for proclamations, as before described, only with this difference, the mantling lambequin'd with four doublings or folds: on the margin of this side, *Magnvm. Sigillvm. Reipvb. Angliæ. Scotiæ. et Hiberniæ.*

E.

THE DEATH, FUNERAL ORDER, AND PROCESSION, OF HIS HIGHNESS
THE MOST SERENE AND MOST ILLUSTRIOUS OLIVER CROMWELL,
LATE LORD PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND,
SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, AND THE DOMINIONS AND
TERRITORIES THEREUNTO BELONGING. THE WHOLE OF THIS
FAITHFULLY COPIED FROM THE MS. OF THE REV. JOHN
PRESTWICH, FELLOW OF ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, OXFORD.

HIS highness's first illness was at Hampton Court, where he sickened of a bastard tertian, of which he grew very ill, in-somuch, that after a week's time his disease began to show very desperate symptoms; whereupon he was removed to Whitehall, Westminster, near London, where his chaplains, and others of his family, kept private meetings and fastings for his recovery. Continuing in this condition, his highness died on Friday, the third of September, at three of the clock in the afternoon, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and fifty-eight. His body, presently after his expiration, was washed and laid out; and being opened, was embalmed, and wrapped in a sere cloth six double, and put into an inner sheet of lead, inclosed in an elegant coffin of the choicest wood. Owing to the disease he died of, which, by the by, appeared to be that of poison, his body, although thus bound up and laid in the coffin, swelled and bursted, from whence came such filth, that raised such a deadly and noisome stink, that it was found prudent to bury him immediately, which was done in as private a manner as possible. For the solemnisation of the funeral, no less than the sum of sixty thousand pounds was allotted to defray the expense.

The corpse being thus quickly buried, by reason of the great stench thereof, a rich coffin of state was, on the 26th of September, about ten at night, privately removed from Whitehall, in a mourning hearse, attended by his domestic servants, to Somerset House, in the Strand, where it remained in pri-

vate for some days, till all things were prepared for public view; which being accomplished, the effigies of his highness was, with great state and magnificence, exposed openly, multitudes daily crowding to see this glorious, hut mournful sight, which appeared in the order following.

FUNERAL ORDER.

First. The first room where the spectators entered, was wholly hung and covered with black; and at the upper end of this room was placed a cloth and chair of state.

In the like manner of the first room were two others; namely, the second and third, all having funeral escutcheons very thick upon the walls; and guards of partisans were placed in each room for people to pass through.

The fourth room was completely hung with black velvet, the ceiling being of the same. Here lay the effigy of his highness, with a large canopy of black velvet fringed, which hung over it. The effigy was of wax, fashioned like the protector, and placed lying upon its back; it was apparelled in a rich and costly suit of velvet, robed in a little robe of purple velvet, laced with a rich gold lace, furred with ermine. Upon the kirtle was a large robe of purple velvet, laced and furred as the former, with strings and tassels of gold. The kirtle was girt with a rich embroidered belt, wherein was a sword richly gilt, and hatched with gold, which hung by the side of this effigy. In the right-hand was a sceptre; in the left, a globe. Upon his head was placed a purple velvet cap, furred with ermines suitable to the robes. Behind the head was placed a rich chair of tissued gold, whereon was placed an imperial crown, which lay high, that the people might behold it.

BED OF STATE.

The bed of state whereon he lay, was covered with a large pall of black velvet, under which was a Holland sheet, borne up by six stools covered with cloth of gold. About the bed was placed a complete suit of arms; and at the feet of the effigy stood his crest. This bed had fixed about it an ascent of two steps. A little from thence stood eight silver candle-

sticks, about five foot high, with white wax tapers standing in them, of three foot long. All these things were environed with rails and balusters, four square, covered with velvet; at each corner whereof, there was erected an upright pillar; which bore on their tops, lions and dragons, who held in their paws streamers crowned. On both sides of the bed were set up in sockets, four great standards of the protector's arms, with banners and banrols in war, painted upon taffety. About the bed stood men in mourning, holding in their hands black wands, and also standing bare-headed; and without the rails stood others, in like manner, whose office it was to receive people in, and turn them out again.

When this public wake or funeral had been kept for many weeks together, so that all strangers, &c. had seen it fully, then did the following change take place, and the whole scene became altered. The effigies being removed into another inner room, it was there set up, placed upon an ascent, under a cloth of state, being vested as it was before lying; only now his purple velvet was changed for a crown. In the same manner (as formerly) were men waiting upon him bare-headed. In this manner he continued until the twenty-third of November, which day was appointed to carry him with all solemnity to Westminster Abbey.

THE FUNERAL PROCESSION.

This great funeral was performed with very great majesty, in this manner following. All things being in readiness, the waxen effigies of the Protector, with a crown on his head, a sword by his side, a globe and sceptre in his hands, was taken down from his standings, and laid in an open chariot, covered all over with black velvet. The streets, from Somerset House to Westminster Abbey, were guarded by soldiers, placed without a railing, and clad in new red coats, with black buttons, with their ensigns wrapped in cypress. These made a lane, to keep off spectators from crowding the procession.

The PROCEEDING to the Funeral of the most noble and puissant Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories there-

unto belonging, from Somerset House in the Strand, unto the Abbey Church of Westminster, on Thursday, the 23d of November, 1658.

Colonel Biscoe, Knight Marshall, on horseback, with his black truncheon, tipped at both ends with gold.

Richard Gerald, Deputy Marshall, on horseback, with his black truncheon, tipped with silver.

Marshall's men, 13, on horseback, with the Knight Marshall.

Two conductors of the poor men of Westminster, with black staves. Poor men of Westminster, two and two, in mourning gowns and hoods.

Two conductors more, with black staves.

Poor men in gowns, two and two, in number 82.

Two conductors more, with black staves, in cloaks.

Servants to Gentlemen, Esquires, Knights, Baronets, two and two.

Two porters of the gate, with their staves.

Six drums, with the arms of Ireland.

Six trumpets, with banners of Ireland.

The Standard of Ireland, borne by Colonel Le Hunt and Major Croke, close mourners.

One in a cloak, to bear up the train of the standard.

A horse, covered with black cloth, adorned with plumes, and garnished with a cheveron, and escutcheons of the same, led by Mr. Tenant, equerry, in a cloak; and a groom in a coat, to attend and lead away the horse.

Inferior servants.

The household kitchen, 8; his Highness's kitchen, 7; hall-place, 5; scullery, 1.

Door-keepers. James's Park. Committee of the Army. Committee of the Admiralty. The Compting-house. Under-keepers of Parks, 2; watermen, 28; Richard Nutt, Master of the Barge; fire-makers, 5; pastry, 2; larder, 2; pantry, 1; buttery, 5; great beer-cellar, 1; wine-cellar, 1; privy cellar, 2; hakehouse, 4; porters, 2; ale-brewers; cooper; under-groons of the chamber, 5; inferior waiters at the cofferer's table, 2; inferior waiters at the comptroller's table, 3.

Three drums, with escutcheons of the arms of Scotland.

Three trumpets, with banners of the same.

The Standard of Scotland, borne by Major Dawboroon and Major Babington. Assistant close mourners.

One in a cloak, to bear up the train of the standard.

A horse, covered with black cloth, adorned with plumes, and garnished with a cheveron, and escutcheons of the same, led by Mr. Bergawny, an equerry, in a cloak, and a groom in a coat, to attend, &c.

Inferior officers of the Lord Mayor, 70.

Marshal's men, 6.

Servants relating to the Surveyor's Office, 12.

Servants in his Highness's wardrobe, 4.

Three drums, with escutcheons of the standard of the Dragon.

Three trumpets, with banners of the same.

The Standard of the Dragon, borne by Colonel Goodrick; and Major Cambridge, assistant. Close mourners.

One in a cloak, to bear the train of the standard.

A horse, covered with black cloth, adorned with plumes, and garnished with a cheveron, and escutcheons of the same, led by Mr. Wilcocks; an equerry in a cloak, and a groom in a coat, to attend, &c.

Officers of better sort. Scullery, 3; larder, 1; hall-place, 2; deputy-sewer 1; kitchen, 1; slaughterhouse, 1; spicery, 1; cellar, 1; ale-brewers, 2; falconers, 2; huntsman; key-keeper; gardeners, 3; park-keepers, 8; bird-keeper; chapel-keepers, 4.

Messengers of the Committee of the Army, 4; of the Committee of the Admiralty, 2.

Keepers of the Council Chamber and Privy lodgings, 5; Messengers of the Council Chamber, 15.

Serjeant Dendy's men, 3; Grooms of the Chamber, 7; waiters on the cofferer's table, 2; chafe-wax and sealer of the Chancery, 2; tally-cutter; usher of the hall; usher of the council-chamber; butler to the comptroller.

Household kitchen, 3 cooks; his Highness's kitchen, 1 cook; gunsmith, shoemaker, hatter, tailor, upholsterer, measurers of cloth, 3; master-carpenter, master-joiner, master-carver, master-mason.

Three drums, with escutcheons of the standard of England.

Three trumpets, with banners of the same.

The Standard of the Lion of England, borne by Major Creed and Major Grove; close mourners.

One in a cloak, to bear up the train of the Standard.

A horse, covered with black cloth, adorned with plumes, garnished with a cheveron, and escutcheons of the same, led by Mr. Wallen, equerry, in a cloak, and a groom in a coat, to attend, &c.

Gentlemen, attendants on public ministers.

Barons', Viscounts', Earls', servants.

Gentlemen, attendants upon Ambassadors.

Clerks in the Surveyor's office, 2; the wardrobe, 2.

Under-clerks to the Commissioners of the Admiralty, 2.

Clerk of the accounts of the Army.

Clerk for the affairs of the Ordnance.

Clerk of the Commissioners of the Navy.

Clerk to the Committee of the Army.

Mr. Malin's Clerks, 2.

Clerks under the Clerks of the Council, 10.

Cash-keeper.

Printers, Mr. Henry Hill, Mr. John Field.

Gentlemen, that wait at the comptroller's table.

Officers of the Lord Mayor, in gowns.

Young men, 6; Yeomen of the water-side, 4; Serjeants of the chamber, 3; carvers, 3; Esquires, belonging to the Lord Mayor, 4; water-bailiff; common crier; common hunt; sword-bearer.

Three drums, with escutcheons of the Guidon.

Three trumpets, with banners of the same.

The Guidon, borne by Major Knight and Sir John Blackamore.

A horse, covered with black velvet, adorned with plumes, and garnished with a cheveron, and escutcheons of the same, led by Mr. Bagg and Mr. Nelson, two equerries, in cloaks, and one groom in a coat, to attend, &c.

The poor knights of Windsor, Mr. Richard Pratt, Captain Fanshaw, Cornet Stephens, Captain Beale, Lieutenant Parker, Cornet Olmer, Lieutenant Mayns, Major Wallinger, Lieutenant Bankes, Mr. Grosvenor, Captain Roe, Colonel Herbert, Mr. Day, Captain Cooper, Major Leventhorp,

David Hatfield, Captain Burges, Mr. Cary, Colonel Whitchcott.

Two lads brought up to music.

Musicians. Mr. John Rogers, Mr. Thomas Mallard, Mr. William Howe, Mr. David Mell, Mr. Thomas Blagrove, Mr. William Gregory, Mr. Richard Hudson, Mr. Hinckston, Master of the Music.

Apothecaries. Mr. Webb, Mr. Phelps, Mr. William Baghurst.

Chirurgeons. Mr. Fothergail, Mr. Trapbam, Mr. Harris.

Her Highness's butler.

His Highness's butler.

Pantry, 2; great beer cellar, 1; privy cellar, 1; scullery, 1; woodyard, 2; pastry, 2; caterer, 1; bakehouse, 2; larder, 3; slaughterhouse, 1.

Three drums, with escutcheons of the White Lion.

Three trumpets, with banners of the same.

The Banner of the Lion, borne by Colonel Pretty and Colonel Gibbon.

A horse, covered with black velvet, adorned with plumes, and garnished with a cheveron and escutcheons of the same, led by two equerries in cloaks, and a groom in a coat, to attend, &c.

Surveyor of Westminster Abbey.

Head Bailiff of Westminster, Mr. Jenkin.

Merchant for timber to his Highness.

Clerk of the surveys.

Assistant to the keeper of the wardrobe.

Mewes-keeper.

Clerks of the stables, the aviary, the spicery, wine-cellar.

Purveyor of wine.

Clerks of the household kitchen. His Highness's kitchen, 2.

Master of Westminster School, Mr. Busby.

Usher of the Exchequer, Mr. Bowyer.

Deputy Chamberlain of the Exchequer.

Mr. Edward Falconbridge and Mr. Scipio Le Squire.

Clerk for approbation of Ministers, Mr. John Nye, Jun.

Solicitor of the Admiralty, Mr. Dorislaus.

Solicitor of the Treasury, Mr. William Swan.

Secretary of the Army, Captain Kingdom.

Secretary to the General at sea, Mr. Richard Creed.

Secretary to the Commissioners of the Admiralty, Mr. Blackborne.

Marshall of the Admiralty, Solomon Smith.

His Highness's Proctor in the Admiralty Court, Mr. David Bud.

Secretary to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, Mr. Sherwin.

Secretary to the Lords Keepers, Mr. Dove.

Register of the Admiralty, Mr. Rushworth.

Masters Shipwrights, Mr. John Taylor, Mr. Christopher Pett, Mr. Tippet.

Masters' Attendants, Mr. Thomas Scott, Mr. Charles Thoroughood, Mr. William Badley, Mr. Thomas Arkonstall.

Officers of the Ordnance, Mr. Billers, Major Browne, Mr. Lewis Audley, Mr. John Faulkner, Mr. Wollaston, Mr. Elias Palmer.

Officers of the Mint, Mr. Thomas Symond, chief graver; Mr. James Hoar, clerk for his Highness; Mr. John Reynolds, under assay master; Mr. Thomas Birch, weigher and teller; Mr. Richard Pitt, surveyor and clerk of the irons; Mr. Samuel Bartlett, assay master; Mr. Thomas Barnardiston, comptroller; Dr. Aaron Gurdon, master of the Mint.

Clerk of the papers, Mr. Ambrose Randolph.

Surveyor of the works, Mr. Embree.

Keeper of the wardrobe at Whitehall, M. Clement Kinnersley.

The Post-house, Mr. Clarke.

Tellers of the Exchequer, Mr. Nicholas Bragg, Mr. George Downing, Mr. Christopher Lyster, Mr. John Stone.

Auditors of the revenue of his Highness's Exchequer, Mr. William Hill, Mr. Augustin Wingfield, Mr. Henry Broad, Mr. John Brockett, Mr. John Edwards, Mr. Richard Sadler.

Auditor of the impress, Mr. Bartholomew Beale.

Counsel attending the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, Mr. Brereton, Mr. Manby.

Three drums, with escutcheons of the arms of the Union.

Three trumpets, with banners of the same.

The Banner of Union, borne by Colonel Grosvenor and Colonel Ashfield.

A horse, covered with black velvet, adorned with plumes, and garnished with a cheveron and escutcheons of the same, led by two equerries in cloaks, and a groom in a coat, to attend, &c.

Officers of the Fleet. Captains Ming, Newburg, Nixon, Howard, Earning, Robert Sanders, Eustace Smith, Robert Blague, Whithorne Whetstone, Tittman, Blague, Witheridge, Poole, John Copping, Lambert, Anthony Young, Harman, Clarke, Cuttavié. Judge Advocate Fowler, Sir Richard Stainer, Captain Stoaks.

Officers of the Army. Mr. Nathaniel Eldred, commissary of provisions in Scotland; Mr. Simon White, apothecary; Mr. Rossington, chirurgeon; Mr. Samuel Barron, physician in Scotland; Mr. Knight, commissary of ammunition; Mr. Thomas Margetts, deputy advocate; Mr. Malin, chief secretary to the army.

Captains of horse and foot, Captains Henry Creer, Henry Creer, Jun.

Commissioners for regulation of the excise, Mr. Adam Bains, Mr. Price, Mr. Bockett, Mr. John Stone.

Committee of the navy, Mr. Henry Hatsell, Mr. George Paler, Mr. Peter Pett, Major Nathaniel Bourne, Mr. Richard Hutchenson, Mr. Wright, Mr. Willoughby, Major Robert Thomson.

Commissioners of the army, Mr. John Phillips, Mr. John Hildesley, Mr. Gervais Bennett, Mr. Richard Lucy.

Mr. Pierce, Lecturer of Margaret's.

Mr. Sangar, Minister of Martin's.

Ministers of Westminster, Mr. John Rowe, Mr. Seth Wood.

Commissioners for approbation of public preachers, Mr. Holbeach, Mr. John Turner, Mr. Daniel Dyke, Mr. Samuel Fairclough, Mr. John Tombes, Mr. Samuel Slater, Mr. William Greenhill, Mr. Joseph Caryl, Mr. William Jessey, Mr. George Griffith, Mr. Thomas Valentine, Mr. Walter Cradock, Mr. William Cooper, Mr. Thomas Manton, Mr. Phillip Nye, Mr. Thankfull Owen, Dr. Horton, Dr. Arrowsmith, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Dr. Tuckney, Dr. John Owen.

Chaplains at Whitehall, Mr. White, Mr. Sterry, Mr. Hooke, Mr. Howe, Mr. Lockyer, Mr. Peters.

Three drums, with escutcheons of the arms of Ireland.

Three trumpets, with banners of the same.

The Banner of Ireland, borne by Colonel Clarke and Colonel Salmon.

A horse, covered with black velvet, adorned with plumes, and garnished with a cheveron and escutcheons of the same, led by two equerries, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Ireland, in cloaks, and a groom in a coat, to attend, &c.

Treasurer of the contingencies, Mr. Gaulter Frost.

Council's solicitor, Mr. Beck.

Secretaries of the French and Latin tongues, Mr. Dradon, Mr. Marvel, Mr. Sterry, Mr. John Milton, Mr Hartlibbe, Seu.

Clerks of the signet, Mr. Samuel Moreland, Mr. James Nutley.

Clerks of the Privy-seal, Mr. Richard Whitehead, Mr. Miles Fleetwood.

Clerk of the Council, Mr. Jessop.

Clerk of the House of Commons, Mr. Smith.

Clerk of the House of Lords, Mr. Scobell.

Clerk of the Commonwealth, formerly Clerk of the Crown, Mr. Nathaniel Taylor.

His Highness's gentlemen,

Majors, John Chamberlain, William Farley, Nathaniel Cadwell, John Hill, Eaton, Robert Swallow, Holmes, Creed, John Pittman, Nicholas Andrews, John Grime, Peter Crisp, Abraham Holmes, Cranfield, Greenleaf, Elleatson.

Lieutenant-colonels, John Miller, Richard Mope, Henry Flower, William Stile, Francis Allen, Dennis Pepper, William Gough, John Pierson, John Neddler, Stevenson, John Clawberry, Arthur Young, Clement Keen.

Adjutant-general for Scotland, Jeremiah Smith.

Adjutants-general for England, Captain John Melthorpe, Major George Sedasene.

Doctors of Physic, Dr. Clarke, Dr. Goddard, Dr. Prujean, Dr. Simcotts, Dr. Bates, Dr. Glisson, Dr. Bathurst.

Advocate-general for Ireland, Dr. Cartwright.

His Highness's advocate, Dr. Walter Walker.

Clerk comptroller, Mr. Ewer.

Clerk of the green cloth, Mr. Barrington.

Steward of the lands, Mr. Waterhouse.

Cofferer, Mr. Maidstone.

Head officers of the Army. Lieutenant-colonel Elton, of foot, to the Lord General. Treasurers of the Army, Captains Blackwell, Dean, Colonels Smith, Barry, Bridges, Rogers, William Mitchell, Fitch; Dr. William Staines, Commissary-general of musters.

Chief officers of the Fleet. Rear-admiral Bourne, Vice-admiral Goodson.

Knights Bachelors.

Three drums, with escutcheons of the arms of Scotland.

Three trumpets, with banners of the same.

The Banner of Scotland, borne by Lord Berry and Lord Cooper.

A horse, covered with black velvet, adorned with plumes, and garnished with a cheveron and escutcheons of the same, led by two equerries, in cloaks, and a groom in a coat, to attend, &c.

The chief Officers and Aldermen of London. Solicitor, Auditor, Remembrancer, Comptroller, Town Clerk, Common-Serjeant, Chamberlain, Judge of the Sheriff's Court, Recorder, Sir Lislebone Long; Aldermen, 20.

Attorney-general of South Wales, Mr. Jones.

Judges of South and North Wales. Mr. Corbett, Mr. Hagatt, Mr. Bulstrode, Mr. Foxwist, Mr. Hoskins, Serjeant Seys, Serjeant Barnard

Masters of the Chancery, 9.

Mr. Peli, Mr. Bradshaw, Major-General Jephson.

His Highness's learned Counsel. Attorney of the Duchy, Mr. Nicholas Lechmere; Solicitor-General, Sir William Ellis; Attorney-General, Sir Edmund Prideaux; His Highness's Serjeants, Serjeant Maynard, Serjeant Earle.

Judges of the Admiralty. Colonel Charles George Cock.

Dr. Godolphin.

Masters of Requests: Mr. Francis Bacon, Mr. Nathaniel Bacon.

Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber: Mr. Charles Harvey, Mr. Underwood.

Master of the Ceremonies, Sir Oliver Fleming.

Chief Justice of Chester, Lord Bradshaw.

Barons of the Exchequer: Richard Tomlins, John Parker,
Roger Hill, Edmund Nicholas.

Judges of both Benches: Hugh Wyndham, Edward Atkins,
Peter Warburton, Matthew Hale, Richard Newdigate.

Lord Chief Baron, Sir Thomas Widdrington.

Lord Mayor of London, Sir John Ireton.

Four drums, with escutcheons of the banner of England.

Four trumpets, with banners of the same.

The hanner of England, borne by Lords Tomlinson and
Hewson.

A horse, covered with black velvet, adorned with plumes,
and garnished with a cheveron and escutcheons of the same,
led by two equerries in cloaks, and a groom to attend, &c.

Relations: Lord Dunch, Sir Robert Pye, jun., Thomas
Bouchier, John Bouchier, Esquires, John Dunch, Esq., Cap-
tain Fox, Thomas Cromwell, Esq., Captain Whetstone, Mr.
Philip Loo, Mr. Edward Fleming, Mr. Edward Hooper, Mr.
Edmund Phillips, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Thomas Cromwell,
Mr. Hughes, Captain Hierome Ingoldsby, Captain Ingoldshy,
Mr. John Whalley, Mr. Henry Whalley, Major Horseman.

Public ministers of foreign states, commonwealths,
princes, and kings.

The Black Rod.

Colonel Willoughby, Gentlemen Usher of the House of Peers,
in a cloak, with an usher on his right hand, hare-headed.

Mr. Secretary Thurloe, one of his Highness's Privy Council.
Peers.

William Lord Goffe, Edmund Lord Thomas, John Lord
Hughson, John Lord Barkstead, Robert Lord Tiebborne,
Christopher Lord Packe, Archibald Lord Johnson, William
Lord Roberts, Thomas Lord Honeywood, William Lord
Lockhart, Alexander Lord Popham, William Lord Strickland,
Richard Lord Onslow, Sir Arthur Haslerigge, Phillip Lord
Jones, Comptroller of his Highness's Household, Francis Lord
Rouse, Phillip Lord Skippon, Charles Lord Wolseley, Wil-
liam Steel, Lord Chamberlain of Ireland, William Lord Len-
thall, Master of the Rolls, John Lord Glynne, Chief Justice

of the Upper Bench, George Monke, General in Scotland. Edward Lord Montague, Lord John Disbrowe, Roger Lord Broghill, George Lord Eure, William Lord Viscount Say and Seale, Earl of Cassilis, Edward Earl of Manchester, Henry Lord Lawrenc, President of the Council: all their trains borne.

The Seal-bearer, supported by a Gentleman Usher, bare-headed, and a Serjeant-at-Arms, Serjeant Middleton.

The Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, John Lord Lisle, Nathaniel Lord Fiennes: trains borne.

Ambassadors of Foreign States, Princes, and Kings.

Six drums, with escutcheons of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.

Six trumpets, with banners of the same.

Serjeants-at-Arms, Birkhead, Dendy.

Rouge Dragon, Poursuivant-at-Arms.

The great banner, borne by John Lord Fiennes, Francis Lord Russel, George Lord Fleetwood, close mourners: their trains borne.

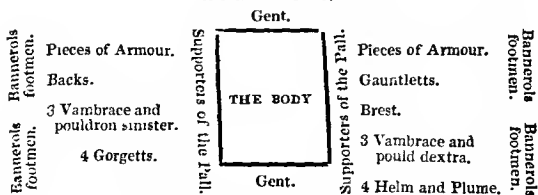
Cheval de Deuil,

or the Chief Horse of Mourning, covered with black velvet, adorned with plumes, and garnished with a cheveron of the same, led by two equerries, in cloaks, and a groom in a coat, to attend, &c.

Helm and crest, spurs, Lancaster. Gauntlet, York. Target, Somerset. Sword, Norroy King of Arms.

Coat of Arms. Clarencieux King of Arms, supported on each side by a Gentleman Usher, bare-headed.

The Lord Chamberlain, in close mourning, with his Staff: his train borne.



Garter Principal King of Arms; on each side a gentleman usher, bareheaded.

Charles Lord Fleetwood, chief mourner.

Philip Lord Viscount Lisle, Lord Viscount Faulconberg, supporters to the Chief Mourner, their trains borne. Chief Mourner's train borne by Luke Skippon, Fiennes, Samuel Disbrowe, James Disbrowe, Gilbert Pickering, Esquires.

Assistants to the Chief Mourner, fourteen in number

Horse of Honour, ornamented in very rich trappings, embroidered on crimson velvet, and adorned with white, red, and yellow plumes, led by the Master of the Horse; Equerries and Grooms to attend.

The Guard of Halberdiers, two and two.

Gentlemen Porters of the Tower, Warders of the Tower.

The effigies in this manner being brought to the west gate of the Abbey Church of Westminster, it was taken from the chariot by ten gentlemen, who carried it to the east end of the church, and there placed with the wax effigies of the Protector, in a most magnificent structure, built in the same form as one before had been on the like occasion for King James, but much more stately and expensive. as the expenses attending the funeral amounted to upwards of sixty thousand pounds.

This funeral procession was the last ceremony of honour to the most serene and most illustrious OLIVER CROMWELL, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; to whom less could not be performed, to the memory of him to whom posterity will pay (when Envy is laid asleep by Time) more honour than I am able to express. But, alas! how true are the words of the wise king, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity;" seeing that, after all this funeral pomp and grandeur, his dead body was lastly, by the council of these men whom his power had raised to greatness; I say, by their council to CHARLES the Second, he was taken out of his grave, and hanged for a traitor. *O tempora! O mores!*

JOHN PRESTWICH, F.A.S.C. Oxford.

INSCRIPTION OVER THE BED OF STATE.

OLIVER CROMWELL,
 Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland;
 Born at Huntingdon,
 Of the name of Williams, of Glamorgan, and by
 King Henry VIII. changed into Cromwell;
 Was educated in Cambridge, afterwards of Lincoln's
 Inn.
 At the beginning of the wars, Captain of a Troop of
 Horse, raised at his own charge;
 And by the Parliament, made Commander-in-Chief.
 He reduced Ireland and South Wales,
 Overthrew Duke Hamilton's army, the Kirk's army;
 at Dunbar;
 Reduced all Scotland;
 Defeated Charles Stuart's army at Worcester.
 He had two sons,
 Lord Richard, Protector in his father's room,
 Lord Henry, now Lord Deputy of Ireland;
 And four daughters,
 Lady Bridget, first married Lord Ireton, afterwards,
 Lieutenant-General Fleetwood;
 Lady Elizabeth, married Lord Cleypole;
 Lady Mary, married Lord Viscount Fauconberg;
 Lady Frances, married the Honourable Robert Rich,
 Grandchild to the Right Honourable the Earl of Warwick.
 He was declared Lord Protector of England,
 Scotland, and Ireland, Dec. 16. 1653;
 Died September 3. 1658, after fourteen days' sickness, of
 An ague, with great assurance and serenity of mind,
 Peaceably in his bed.
 Natus April 15. 1599
 Dunkirk in Flanders, surrendered to him, June 20.
 1658.

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